THE VOYAGES

OF

SIR JAMES LANCASTER, K^T.,

TO THE

EAST INDIES,

WITH

ABSTRACTS OF JOURNALS OF VOYAGES TO THE EAST INDIES, DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, PRESERVED IN THE INDIA OFFICE.

AND THE

VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN JOHN KNIGHT

(1606),

TO SEEK THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE.

Edited by

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CONTENTS.

Dedication.

PAGE

Introduction i

Narrative of the First Voyage of Sir James Lancaster, by Edmund Barker, Lieutenant 1

Narrative of the First Voyage of Sir James Lancaster, by Henry May 25

The Voyage of Captain James Lancaster to Pernambuco . 35

The First Voyage made to East India by Master James Lancaster (now Knight) for the Merchants of London, Anno 1600 . 57

ABSTRACTS.

The Voyage of Captains Keelinge and Hawkins— I . . 108

" " " II . . 111

" " " III . . 113

The Voyage of Captain Sharpeigh— I . . . 120

" " II . . . 126

The Sixth Voyage set forth by the East India Company: Instructions to the Factors 131

Commission to Sir Henry Middleton for the Sixth Voyage . 137

CONTENTS.

The Second Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton, being the Sixth set forth by the East India Company . . . 145

Journal of the Sixth Voyage, by Thomas Love . . . 147

Journal of the Sixth Voyage, kept by Nicholas Downton (1610-1613) 151

Journal of Ralph Crosse, Purser of the *Hoseander* in the Tenth Voyage 228

A Calendar of the Ships' Journals preserved in the India Office (written within the seventeenth century) . . 263

Journal of the Voyage of John Knight to seek the North-West Passage, 1606 281

A List of Ships of the East India Company (employed during the Seventeenth Century) 295

Index 303

DEDICATION

TO

COMMANDER A. DUNDAS TAYLOR

(LATE R.I.N.),

SUPERINTENDENT OF MARINE SURVEYS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

My dear Taylor,

I inscribe to you, as one who has, through a long and useful career, been instrumental in upholding the reputation of the Indian Navy, this volume containing the narratives of voyages of some of the earliest of your predecessors.

Lancaster, Middleton, Downton, Best, and the other famous seamen who showed England the way to India, commence the long and glorious roll of public servants who made the history of the Indian Marine; while the great names of Davis and Baffin, famous alike in the Arctic Regions and in the Indian Ocean, stand at the head of the list of Indian Marine Surveyors.

It has been your good fortune, after that most useful branch of the Public Service—the Indian Navy—had been recklessly abolished, and after the surveys had been entirely neglected for twelve years, to restore them to

efficiency. That you may succeed in maintaining that efficiency, and thus achieve a work which I know to be as near to your heart, as it is important to the interests of England and of India, is the earnest hope of your sincere friend and well-wisher,

Clements R. Markham.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Council of the Hakluyt Society have resolved to reprint the narratives of the voyages of Sir James Lancaster, from the collections of Hakluyt and Purchas, in order that they may be brought together in one volume. Lancaster was one of the leading seamen of the reign of Elizabeth, and he commanded the two first English voyages to the East Indies. He was afterwards on the direction of the East India Company; he was a great promoter of voyages of discovery; and, as such, his name was immortalised by William Baffin, who called one of the chief portals of the Arctic Regions—"Sir James Lancaster, his Sound".

We learn from himself that, in his early years, he had been in Portugal in the capacities of a soldier and afterwards of a merchant. In 1591 he sailed on his first voyage to the East Indies; and two accounts of this adventurous expedition, and of its disastrous termination among the West Indian Islands, were published by Hakluyt.[1] The first was written by Hakluyt from the mouth of Edmund Barker of Ipswich,[2] a lieutenant; and the second by Henry May.[3] Lancaster

[1] Hakluyt ii, Part II, p. 102 (2nd edition, ii, p. 586); and iii, p. 571 (2nd edition, iii, p. 52).

[2] Page 1.

[3] Page 25.

returned to England in May 1594, after an absence of more than three years.

In the autumn of 1594, Lancaster was again in command of three ships fitted out by Aldermen of London, with his old lieutenant, Edmund Barker, in the vice-admiral. On this occasion, a successful piratical attack, in which Barker lost his life, was made on the Portuguese settlement of Pernambuco. The expedition returned to Blackwall in July 1595.[1]

In 1599, the full report of Dr. Thorne, who resided at Seville, on the advantages of a trade with India, and other information, including that obtained by Lancaster during his first voyage, induced the merchants and adventurers of London to project an expedition, and eventually to form a Company, with the object of establishing a trade with the East Indies. A sum of £30,000 was at once subscribed. On October 16th, 1599, Queen Elizabeth's gracious acceptance of the voyage was reported, and the Lord Treasurer recommended Sir Edward Michelborne as principal commander. But the promoters resolved not to employ any "gentleman" in any place of charge or command in the voyage, because they desired to "sort their business with men of their own quality". All through the autumn the preparations for the voyage were energetically pushed forward, and a total sum of £72,000 was subscribed. On the 10th of December, Captain James Lancaster was appointed General of the Fleet, with a commission of martial

[1] Page 35. This is also a reprint from Hakluyt, iii, p. 709 (2nd edition, iv, p. 207).

law from the Queen. John Middleton was in the vice-admiral, and that glorious Arctic navigator, John Davis, was Pilot-Major. The ships were nearly ready for sea when, on the 31st of December, 1599, the Charter of Incorporation of the East India Company was granted, being a privilege for fifteen years to certain adventurers for the discovery of the trade for the East Indies, namely, George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and 215 knights, aldermen, and merchants. Alderman Sir Thomas Smith was chosen as the first Governor of the Company, and the names of James Lancaster and John Middleton appear among those of the twenty-four Directors.

All through the month of January 1600 the expedition was being fitted out in the Thames. Each ship was provided with twelve streamers, two flags, and one ancient. Stores and provisions of all kinds were supplied, as well as merchandise, and merchants were appointed to the different ships to superintend the trading operations. The Queen gave letters of recommendation to the Princes of India, and presents were provided, consisting of "two fair, costly looking-glasses", a silver basin and ewer, two standing cups, four silver cups, and other things of less value. A sufficient account of the scale of victualling, stores, armament, and merchandise for the Company's ships in the early voyages, and of their cost, has already been given by Mr. Rundall.[1] Mr. Richard Hakluyt furnished much useful information and instructions

[1] *Narratives of Voyages towards the North-West* (Appendix), Hakluyt Society's volume for 1849.

"touching the preparing of the voyage", and also supplied three maps. The officers and others received "bills of adventure" upon the gain of the voyage. Thus the Pilot-Major, John Davis, was to have £500 if the voyage yielded two for one, £1000 if three for one, £1500 if four for one, £2000 if five for one.

The expedition sailed from Woolwich on the 13th of February 1600, with 480 men. The General, James Lancaster, was on board the *Dragon.* This vessel was bought from the Earl of Cumberland for £3,700, her former name having been the *Malice Scourge.* She was launched on the 11th of December 1599, and rechristened the *Red Dragon*, being a vessel of 600 tons, with a crew of 202 men.[1] John Middleton was on board the vice-admiral, the *Hector*, of 300 tons, with a crew of 108 men. The *Ascension*, commanded by William Brand, was a vessel of 260 tons, with a crew of 82 men; and the *Susan*, of 240 tons, under John Heyward, had 88 men. The *Guest*, of 130 tons, was added as a victualler.

The original manuscript journals of this memorable voyage are lost. The narrative, as given by Purchas, is now reprinted.[2] It describes all the events from the departure of the expedition in February 1600, to its return to the Downs on the 11th of September 1603. The gallant commander of the expedition received the

[1] There is a drawing of the *Red Dragon* under sail facing page 1 of Sir Henry Middleton's Voyage, being the Hakluyt Society's volume for 1855.

[2] Page 57. See Purchas, lib. III, cap. iii, p. 47; and Harris, i, p. 62.

honour of knighthood and became Sir James Lancaster. He was the founder of that English trade with the East Indies which led to the formation of the British Empire of India. He afterwards served as a Director of the East India Company in London, where his great experience was invaluable in preparing subsequent ventures, and in the general conduct of the Company's affairs. He was still actively engaged on these duties in 1618.

The second voyage set forth by the East India Company was commanded by Henry Middleton, and sailed from Gravesend on the 23rd of March 1604. Middleton was in the *Dragon*, with his brother David; his second in command, Colthurst, in the *Hector*; the *Ascension* was commanded by Roger Stiles;[1] and the *Susan* by William Keelinge. Middleton was knighted on his return in 1606. This is the only East Indian voyage of the seventeenth century of which a separate narrative was published. It appeared in 1606, being printed in London for Walter Burre; and Mr. Bolton Corney suggests that, as Middleton had a daughter named Margaret Burre, the printer may have been his son-in-law. This very rare book was reprinted for the Hakluyt Society in 1855, and edited by Mr. Bolton Corney. The notice of the first voyage of Middleton in Purchas[2] is excessively meagre, only occupying two pages, probably in consequence of the separate account having been previously published.

Sir Edward Michelborne, whose influence with the Lord Treasurer was great, but who found so little

[1] Died at Bantam.

[2] Book III, chap. v, p. 185.

favour in the City, continued to be a thorn in the side of the Company for some years. In 1601 he was "disfranchised of the freedom and privileges of this fellowship, and utterly disabled from taking any benefit or profit thereby."[1] But, in spite of the Company, Michelborne obtained a licence in June 1604, to discover the countries of China and Japan and to trade with the people, notwithstanding any grant to the Company to the contrary. The great Arctic navigator John Davis sailed with him as pilot on board the *Tiger*, and was slain in a fight with Japanese junks on the 27th December 1605.[2] He left behind him some valuable sailing directions for the voyage along the Sumatran coast from Achin to Tiku and Priaman. Michelborne was the first of the interlopers, and his conduct, during the voyage, appears to have done no credit to the English name. In 1608 the Company's factor at Bantam reported, that "if any more such as he be permitted to do as he did in these parts, their state would be very dangerous", and urges the Company to "use all prevention in this point".

The printing of the four narratives of the voyages of Sir James Lancaster suggested an examination of the manuscript journals of voyages which are still preserved at the India Office, and a collation of the earlier documents with the abstracts given by Purchas. In the present volume, the voyages of Lancaster are followed by a calendar of all the manuscript journals

[1] *Calendar of State Papers (East India)*, 1513-1616, para. 292.

[2] See accounts of Michelborne's voyage in Purchas, vol. i, Book III, p. 132; and Harris, i, p. 55.

of voyages during the seventeenth century now in the India Office, while abstracts of a few of the most interesting are given in considerable detail. Notices of the manuscripts will be found in the foot-notes.

I will now proceed to give some account of the materials that have escaped destruction, and of the abstracts given in Purchas. On the formation of the East India Company, their historical and geographical documents were entrusted to Richard Hakluyt, who had completed his *Principal Navigations* in 1600, and was made Archdeacon of Westminster in 1603. He thus had charge of the journals of all the East India voyages, from 1600 to the date of his death, in 1616. In about 1620, four years after Hakluyt's death, these journals and logs came into the hands of the Rev. Samuel Purchas, having, in all probability, been entrusted to him by Sir Thomas Smith, the first governor of the company, for publication. Unfortunately Purchas, instead of doing this, resolved to abridge and epitomise his materials, and, in this form, he published them in four folio volumes in 1625, with the well-known title *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes.* The Indian voyages are given in the first volume, books iii, iv, and v. This method of treatment would not, as Mr. Bolton Corney has observed, have been objectionable if due care had been taken to preserve the original manuscripts. Sir Thomas Smith died in the year that the *Pilgrimes* were published, on September 4, 1625, and Purchas followed him in 1626. From that time these priceless materials for the opening chapter of the history of British India

have been neglected. Many of the manuscripts are lost, and those that survive are sadly injured by damp and rats. Subsequent historians have never made use of them, but have contented themselves with the meagre and careless abstracts given by Purchas.

The manuscript journals of the voyages of Lancaster and Middleton, the two first set forth by the Company, have disappeared. The oldest existing manuscripts in the India Office are fragments of three journals kept during the third voyage (1606-1609), which was commanded by Captains Keelinge and Hawkins. Purchas gives abstracts of two journals of this third voyage, that of Keelinge, from the document preserved in the India Office. The first, in Purchas, is an abstract of Keelinge's journal, occupying 18 pages;[1] but Purchas tells us that the original was very voluminous, and that he has "beene bold so to shorten, as to expresse only the most necessary observations for sea or land affaires." The second, also much abridged, is the important narrative of Captain Hawkins, commanding the *Hector*, who was the first Englishman to obtain a concession for trading from the Great Mogul. It also occupies 18 pages.[2] The manuscript of the journal of Hawkins is lost.

In the present volume I have given abstracts of the three manuscripts in the India Office which relate to the third voyage.[3] One consists of $4\frac{3}{4}$ pages; the second of $32\frac{1}{2}$ pages, those between the dates August 30th, 1607, and February 28th, 1608, having been torn out;

[1] Book IV, cap. vi, p. 188. [2] Book III, cap. vii, p. 206.
[3] See pages 108 to 119.

and the fourth, of $59\frac{1}{4}$ pages, being a journal kept by John Hearn and William Finch, containing some sketches of coasts and headlands. It breaks off when the ships were at Socotra on their way out.

The circumstance of the second of these journals of the third voyage, which was kept on board the *Dragon*, having had several pages torn out, calls for special remark for the following reason. Mr. Rundall, who was a clerk in the India Office, in the appendix[1] to the volume edited by him for the Hakluyt Society in 1849 (*Narratives of Voyages towards the North-West*), says that the following entry occurs in the journal of the *Dragon*, Captain Keelinge's ship, and in a foot-note he refers to East India MSS., showing that in 1849 the journal was intact.

1607.

September 4 (at Serra Leona). Towards night the kinges interp'ter came, and brought me a letter from the Portingall, wher in (like the faction) he offered me all kindly services. The bearer is a man of maruailous redie witt, and speakes in eloquent Portugues. He layt abord me.

„ 5. I sent the interpreter, according to his desier, abord the Hector, whear he brooke fast, and after came abord mee, wher *we gave the tragedie of Hamlett*.

„ 30. Captain Hawkins dined with me, wher *my companions acted King Richard the Second.*

„ 31. I envited Captain Hawkins to a ffishe dinner, and *had Hamlet acted* abord me, *wch I p'mitt to keepe my people from idlenes and unlawfull games, or sleepe.*

[1] Page 231.

Now it is obvious that these entries are of very great literary importance, for they record one of the earliest performances of *Hamlet* after the first publication of that play in 1604.[1] *They have been abstracted from the manuscript volume since* 1849, together with all the pages containing entries between August 30th, 1607, and February 19th, 1607(8). In the third fragment[2] there are entries for the days on which the plays were acted, but no mention of the performance. Owing to the robbery of these leaves of the manuscript, there is now no contemporary evidence of the interesting fact that the play of Hamlet was acted by Captain Keelinge's sailors at Sierra Leone in the autumn of 1607. The only evidence is the quotation from the original document made by Mr. Rundall before the robbery took place.

The fourth East Indian expedition (1608) consisted of the *Ascension*, commanded by Captain Sharpeigh, and the *Union*, under Captain Richard Rowles. It

[1] The earliest allusion to a play of *Hamlet* was made by Nash in 1589. Malone did not think that this was Shakespeare's play, but an earlier performance. In 1602, "The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark", was entered in the Stationers' Registers. But the earliest known edition is that of 1603, of which two copies are extant. Mr. Furness thinks that there was an old play on the story of Hamlet which Shakespeare remodelled for the stage in 1602, and that this is the same as the edition of 1603, while the edition of 1604 is the first edition of Shakespeare's Hamlet. So great was the popularity of the play, that another edition was printed in 1605, which was, no doubt, the one used by Captain Keelinge's men. The next edition did not come out until 1611. *Richard II* appeared earlier, in 1597.

[2] An abstract of this MS. is given at page 113.

was very unfortunate. The two ships were separated off the Cape; the *Ascension* was wrecked in the Bay of Cambay, and the *Union*, after great disasters, was met at Madagascar by Sir Henry Middleton in 1610.[1] Purchas gives three documents relating to the fourth voyage. The first is an abridgment of a narrative of the *Ascension's* cruise, by T. Jones, occupying 3¾ pages. The second is an account of a journey by one of the shipwrecked seamen, named William Nicols, who made his way overland to Masulipatam (one-fourth of a page); and the third is an account of the voyage of the *Union* by Samuel Bradshaw (1½ page). In the India Office collection there are two documents relating to the fourth voyage. The first[2] consists of 75½ manuscript pages, of which 60½ are the journal proper, and the rest include twenty-five letters from Captain Sharpeigh, while detained at Aden. The second is comprised in 6¾ pages,[3] being a letter from Captain Sharpeigh to the Directors. Neither of these two documents appears to have been used by Purchas.

The fifth voyage was commanded by David Middleton, a brother of Sir Henry. It consisted of only one ship, the *Consent*, of 150 tons, which sailed from Tilbury Hope on the 12th of March 1606, and returned with a full lading of cloves. Purchas only gives a very meagre abstract of 3½ pages; and there is no manuscript relating to David Middleton's voyage in the India Office collection.

1 See page 160.

2 An abstract of it is given at page 120.

3 Abstract at page 126.

The sixth voyage was on a larger scale. It was commanded by Sir Henry Middleton on board the *Trades' Increase*, of 1100 tons, the largest merchant ship ever built in England at that time. He was accompanied by the *Peppercorn*, under the command of Captain Downton, and the *Darling*. The fleet sailed from the Downs on the 4th of April 1610. Purchas gives an abstract of Sir Henry Middleton's journal (27 pages), and extracts from the journal of Captain Downton ($39\frac{1}{4}$ pages). There are several important manuscript documents relating to the sixth voyage in the India Office collection, but Middleton's own journal is lost. There are the instructions given to Lawrence Femell, the principal factor;[1] the commission issued to Sir Henry Middleton;[2] a portion of a journal of the voyage, but without the writer's name;[3] a portion of the journal of Thomas Love;[4] and the complete journal kept by Captain Downton during the voyage, extending over 214 pages.[5] This is the same document that was used by Purchas. References are frequently made, in this journal, to maps for which blank spaces have been left, but of which not one has been filled up.

The seventh voyage was made in the *Globe*, under the command of Captain Anthony Hippon, which vessel sailed from Blackwall in January 1610. Purchas gives a short account from the journal of Nathaniel Marten, a master's mate (5 pages), and another,

[1] See page 131.
[2] See page 137.
[3] See page 145.
[4] See page 147.
[5] See page 151.

translated from the Dutch journal of Peter Williamson Floris, a merchant on board ($8\frac{1}{2}$ pages).[1] The manuscript of the journal of Floris has, fortunately, been preserved intact, and is very interesting. It begins in January 1611, and ceases abruptly on February 17, 1615 ($142\frac{1}{2}$ pages).[2]

The eighth voyage was that commanded by Captain Saris. The fleet consisted of three ships—the *Clove*, *Hector*, and *Thomas*. Saris established trade and an English factory in Japan, and his proceedings are, therefore, of great historical interest. Purchas has given the narrative of this voyage with unusual fulness ($60\frac{3}{4}$ pages),[3] but the original manuscript has been improperly taken from the India Office. It was purchased some years ago from Mr. Kerslake, a bookseller at Bristol, and is now in the topographical depôt of the War Office. The voyage of Saris is so important that it seems worthy of consideration by the Council of the Hakluyt Society, whether the manuscript at the War Office should not be printed as a volume of their series. There is a manuscript volume, in the India Office, of letters from Richard Wickham, the Company's Factor at Firando, extracts from which might complete the proposed volume.

Edmund Marlowe commanded the ninth voyage (so called) set forth by the East India Company in 1611. In reality this ninth voyage is merely that of the ship *James*, which formed part of Captain Best's fleet. Purchas gives a brief abstract of the journal written

[1] Purchas, lib. III, caps. xiii and xiv.

[2] See page 264.

[3] Lib. IV, caps. i, ii.

by John Davy, the Master (4 pages), but there is no record of this voyage at the India Office.

The tenth voyage was commanded by Captain Thomas Best, and consisted of four ships—the *Hoseander*, *Hector*, *James*, and *Solomon*, which sailed from Gravesend in February 1612. From this voyage dates the establishment of permanent English factories on the coast of India; and it was Captain Best who secured a regular firman for trade from the Great Mogul. Purchas gives an extract of 10 pages from the journal of Best himself,[1] and certain observations written by others employed in the voyage.[2] In the India Office collection there is the manuscript journal of Captain Best, which was used by Purchas[3] (46 pages), and the journal of Ralph Crosse, the purser of the *Hoseander* (67¼ pages)[4], besides a manuscript of 66 pages, containing extracts from various logs, two of which refer to Best's voyage.[5]

The eleventh voyage, so called, is merely that of the ship *Solomon* in Best's fleet. Purchas gives extracts from the journal of Ralph Wilson, one of the mates of the *Solomon*, comprising 1¼ page.

The twelfth voyage was commanded by Christopher Newport,[6] and left Gravesend in 1612. Newport's ship, the *Expedition*, of 260 tons, had the Persian ambassador

[1] Lib. IV, cap. vii, p. 456.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 466.
[3] See page 264.
[4] See page 248.
[5] See page 265.
[6] Christopher Newport commanded a fleet of three ships, which went to the West Indies in 1591, and burnt three towns and nineteen Spanish ships (Hakluyt, 2nd edition, iii, p. 48).

on board. This was the famous Sir Robert Sherley, with his Circassian wife Teresia, and several English and Persian followers. Purchas gives an account of this voyage from extracts of the journal of Walter Payton, who was on board (12 pages). There is no record of this voyage at the India Office.

The next voyage was that commanded by Captain Downton, which Purchas calls the "Second Joint-Stock Voyage", but it appears to have been the first. It consisted of the *New Year's Gift*, the *Hector*, the *Merchant Hope*, and the *Solomon*; and sailed from England in March 1613. This expedition of Downton is famous for a great success gained over the Portuguese fleet. Purchas gives 11½ pages of extracts from the journal of Captain Downton,[1] who died at Bantam on August 6th, 1615; and also some notes of the voyage of Martin Pring, who served under Downton. Downton was succeeded by Captain Elkington; and Purchas gives an extract of two pages from that officer's journal, and another of three pages from some memoranda of Edward Dodsworth, chief merchant of the second joint-stock voyage under Captain Keelinge (1614-15). Dodsworth's journal of 54 manuscript pages is preserved in the India Office collection.[2] There is also another manuscript journal of this voyage, kept by John Monden, master's mate of the *Hector*, consisting of 53 pages.[3]

Purchas gives extracts from the journal of Captain Walter Payton, who commanded the fleet

[1] Lib. IV, cap. xi, page 500.

[2] See page 265.

[3] See page 266.

which took Sir Thomas Roe out to India in 1614 (8 pages),[1] of which there is no record among the India Office manuscripts.

The voyage commanded by Andrew Shilling in 1619, is memorable, because that great Arctic explorer and navigator William Baffin served in the fleet. Purchas gives extracts from the journal of Richard Swan, master of the *Roebuck*, one of the ships of Shilling's fleet.[2] In the India Office there are two manuscript journals of Shilling's voyage, one by Archibald Jennison (37½ pages), and the other by Richard Swan[3] (68 pages), which was used by Purchas.

There are some other unimportant extracts in Purchas which are not in the India Office, and the rest of the seventeenth century manuscripts in the India Office collection have not been used by Purchas. An account of them will be found from pages 266 to 277 of the present volume.[4]

[1] Lib. IV, cap. XV, page 528.

[2] Lib. V, cap. VXI, page 723.

[3] See page 269.

[4] The following is a list of ships' journals of voyages to the East Indies from which Purchas gives extracts in his *Pilgrimes*. Harris copied most of them into his collection. Those with an asterisk are still preserved at the India Office :—

1. The first voyage,	commanded by	Lancaster ...	Vol. I, Lib. iii,	cap. 3, p. 147.
2. The second voyage,	„	H. Middleton	„	cap. 5. p. 185.
3. The third voyage,	„	Keelinge & Hawkins	„	cap. 6, 7, p. 188.
4. The fourth voyage,	„	Sharpeigh...3 accounts		cap. 9, p. 228.
5. The fifth voyage,	„	David Middleton ...	Lib. iii,	cap. 8, p. 226.
6. The sixth voyage,	„	H. Middleton	„	cap. 11, p. 247.
„ „	„	*N. Downton	„	cap. 12, p. 274.
7. The seventh voyage,	„	Anthony Hippon...	„	cap. 13, p. 314.
„ „	„	*Journal of Floris...	„	cap. 14, p. 319.
8. The eighth voyage,	„	John Saris	Lib. iv,	caps. 1 and 2.
9. The ninth voyage,	„	Edmund Marlowe...	„	cap. 5, p. 440.

I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Mr. Handcock, of the State Paper Office, for his valuable assistance in deciphering and making abstracts of the earlier logs of the seventeenth century in the India Office.

The present volume concludes with a document relating to a very different part of the world, which was, however, very closely connected with the early history of the East India Company. This is the journal of the voyage of John Knight to seek the North-West Passage in 1606. The original manuscript was found in the India Office amongst a heap of waste paper, and was thus rescued from destruction. It is marked No. 19 of some lost series, which probably included other

10.	Sailing directions for the East Indies, by John Davis		...Lib. iv,	cap. 6, p. 444.
11.	The tenth voyage, commanded by	*Thomas Best	„	cap. 7, p. 456.
	„ „ „	Observations by others	„	cap. 8, p. 466.
12.	The eleventh voyage, „	Ralph Wilson	„	cap. 9, p. 486.
13.	The twelfth voyage, „	Christopher Newport	„	cap. 10, p. 448.
14.	Joint-Stock voyage, „	Downton	„	cap. 11, p. 500.
	„ „ „	Elkington	„	cap. 12, p. 514.
	„ „ „	*Dodsworth	„	cap. 12, p. 516.
15.	A voyage in 1614, „	John Milward	„	cap. 14, p. 524.
15.	Voyage of Captain Walter Peyton	....	„	cap. 15, p. 528.
16.	Notes from the Journal of Alex. Childe	....	Lib. v,	cap. 2, p. 606.
17.	Voyage of the Anne Royal (1618)	....	„	cap. 5, p. 622.
18.	Two voyages of Martin Pring	....	„	caps. 6 and 7.
19.	Proceedings of Sir Thomas Dale	....	„	cap. 7, p. 637.
20.	Discourse of William Hore's voyage	....	„	cap. 8, p. 656.
21.	Journal of Nathaniel Courthorp	....	„	cap. 9, p. 664.
	„ „ „	....	„	cap. 10, p. 679.
22.	Narrative of Captain Fitzherbert	....	„	cap. 13, p. 697.
23.	*Voyage of Captain Shilling, by Richard Swan	.. ..	„	cap. 16, p. 723.
24.	Discourse of trade to the East Indies, by T. Mun		„	cap. 17, p. 732.

Purchas also gives the journal of the ship *Pearl*, an interloper (1612), of which Samuel Castleton of London was captain, written by John Tatton, master (iii, cap. xv, p. 328).

priceless Arctic journals. This one has alone escaped. It was once in the hands of Purchas, for he gives extracts from it occupying 4½ pages;[1] and a collation of the original manuscript with his version, affords a good example of the way in which the Rev. Samuel dealt with his materials.

Captain Waymouth's Arctic expedition and others, as well as that of Captain Knight, were despatched by the East India Company; but Captain Knight was originally connected with the Danish expeditions to Greenland of the seventeenth century, and it will be well to glance briefly at his antecedents.

On the 2nd of May 1605, an expedition sailed from Copenhagen consisting of two ships and a pinnace, with the object of re-discovering Greenland. The commander was John Cunningham, a Scottish gentleman in the service of the King of Denmark, who was on board the *Frost*—a vessel of the burden of 40 or 50 lasts, and James Hall served under him as pilot. The *Lyon* carried the Vice-Admiral, a Dane named Lindenow, and John Knight commanded the pinnace. On the 30th of May they sighted very high land in 59° 50′ N., which they called Cape Christian, but could not approach it, owing to the quantity of ice. The *Lyon* here parted company to return home. The *Frost* and pinnace, under Cunningham, Hall, and Knight, proceeded northwards, and on the 12th of June they sighted very high land on the west coast of Greenland, which was named Mount Cunningham. Then, approaching the land between two capes, that to the

[1] Third Part, lib. iv, cap. xvi, p. 127.

south was called Cape Anne, after the Queen of Denmark, and the other Cape Sophia, after the queen mother. Thus they entered a goodly bay, which they named King Christian's Fjord; and, sailing up it for several leagues, they anchored in 26 fathoms. Eskimos were met with, and Hall gives an interesting account of them, and of their country. He named a group of islets off Cape Sophia the Knight Islands. A headland was called Burnil's Cape[1] (Brunel's ?) probably after the eminent Dutch navigator, Oliver Brunel, who was in the Danish service at this time. The expedition returned to Copenhagen in August of the same year.

John Knight then left Denmark and returned to England, and there is some reason for thinking that Oliver Brunel went with him.

Hall remained in the Danish service, and was in a second expedition with Cunningham and Lindenow. He sighted the American coast in 58° 30′ N. on July 9th, 1606, and afterwards revisited Greenland, returning to Copenhagen in October. In a third expedition in 1607, Hall's crew mutinied, and forced him to put back. After this he left Denmark, and in 1612 took command of an expedition to Greenland, set forth by English adventurers from Hull, an account of which was written by William Baffin. They reached a bay, which Hall named Cockin's Fiord, in remembrance of Alderman Cockin; and here Baffin made some interesting calculations for difference of longitude. But Captain Hall was murdered by an Eskimo out of re-

[1] Not *Cape Burnit*, as incorrectly given in the Admiralty chart.

venge for a relation who was kidnapped in one of the former voyages. He died on the 23rd of July, and was buried on one of the Knight Islands. The expedition then returned to Hull. Baffin mentions that on the banks of a fiord, which they named Ball's River,[1] there were shrubs six or seven feet high, and much angelica.

We now return to John Knight, who was employed, on his return to England, by the East India merchants to discover the North-West Passage. He sailed from Gravesend in the *Hopewell*, of 40 tons, on April 18th, 1606, and it is supposed that Oliver Brunel went with him. The history of Brunel, the first of the Dutch Arctic navigators, has been elucidated with much ability and research by the historian S. Muller, and by Lieutenant Koolemans Beynen of the Dutch Navy in his introduction to the second edition of the voyages of Barents, printed for the Hakluyt Society.[2] It is certain that, after the failure of the voyage undertaken by Brunel, which sailed from Enkhuyzen in 1584, that indefatigable explorer offered his services to Christian II of Denmark, proposing to find the long-lost Greenland colonies. He probably served in Hall's first voyage, when Cape Brunel[3] was named after him; and Lieutenant Beynen thinks it by no means impossible that he left Denmark with Knight, and sailed with that navigator in the *Hopewell* in 1606.[4]

[1] Since incorrectly called Baal's river.

[2] See Barents (2nd edition), p. xiv.

[3] Erroneously printed on the Admiralty chart as "Cape Burnit".

[4] Introduction to Barents (2nd edition), p. xvi.

The journal of Captain Knight describes the voyage of the *Hopewell* across the Atlantic[1], until the coast of Labrador was sighted near the position of the modern settlement of Nain. The manuscript, which is in Knight's own hand, ceases abruptly on the 26th of June. A postscript follows, describing how Captain Knight and others landed, on that day, on a great island. He, his mate, his brother, and one more, went on shore, leaving two men in the boat. They walked over a hill, and were never seen nor heard of again. The postscript in the manuscript is different from that in Purchas, the latter being much longer. The Purchas postscript describes how the people were afterwards attacked by savages; how they got out of the bay, and reached Newfoundland, where they obtained succour; and how they eventually arrived at Dartmouth on the 29th of September 1606. "The rest of this journal, from the death of Master John Knight, was written by Oliver Browne,[2] one of the company." With these words the postscript in Purchas ends, and Mr. Muller suggests that the *l* in *Brownel* has been omitted through a typographical error. There is certainly some reason for the supposition that the writer of the melancholy postscript to Knight's voyage was identical with the Dutch navigator whose history has been so diligently brought to light by the historian S. Muller Fr., and by Lieutenant Koolemans Beynen.

Arctic exploration is so important and useful, and

[1] See page 281.

[2] Brownel is the recognised English equivalent for Brunel.

the enterprises connected with it form such noble and heart-stirring episodes in our history, that every fragment relating to them should be looked upon with veneration. This old manuscript record has, therefore, been printed as a contribution towards the more complete history of English Arctic adventure. It fitly concludes a volume containing narratives of East Indian voyages,[1] because, in its earliest and best days, much precious Arctic work was undertaken and achieved by the English East India Company.

[1] *Postscript.*—William Mace of Radcliffe, the Master of Lancaster's ship, the *Edward*, in his first voyage (see pages 6 and 26), who was killed at the Comoro Islands, had formerly commanded an expedition of his own. In 1589 he made a voyage to the Gulf of Mexico, in the ship *Dog* (70 tons), and took several Spanish prizes. On one occasion, when he and some of his people went on board a ship which had surrendered, the Spaniards treacherously attacked them, and Mace only escaped by jumping overboard and swimming to his own ship. See Hakluyt, iii, p. 39 (2nd edition). The *Dog* returned to London in the same year, 1589.

NARRATIVE OF THE FIRST VOYAGE

OF

SIR JAMES LANCASTER.

BY

EDMUND BARKER, Lieutenant.

A voyage with three tall ships—the *Penelope*, Admirall; the *Marchant Royal*, Vice-Admirall; and the *Edward Bonaventure*, Rere-admirall,—to the East Indies, by the Cape of Buona Speransa, to Quitangone, neere Mosambique, to the Iles of Comoro and Zanzibar, on the backeside of Africa, and beyond Cape Comori in India, to the Iles of Nicubar and of Gomes Pulo, within two leagues of Sumatra, to the Ilands of Pulo Pinaom, and thence to the maine land of Malacca, begunne by M. George Raymond, in the yeere 1591, and performed by M. James Lancaster, and written from the mouth of *Edmund Barker*, of Ipswich, his lieutenant, in sayd voyage, by M. Richard Hakluyt.

Our fleet of the three tall ships above named departed from Plimmouth the 10th of April, 1591, and arrived at the Canarie-islands the 25 of the same, frō whence we departed the 29 of April. The second of May we were in the height of Cape Blanco. The fift we passed the tropique of Cancer. The eight we were in the height of Cape Verde. All this time we went with a faire winde at north-east, always before the winde untill the 13 of the same moneth, when we came within 8 degrees of the Equinoctiall line, where we met with a contrary winde. Here we lay off and on in the sea untill the sixt of June, on which day we passed the sayd line. While we lay thus off and on, we took a Portugal carawel laden by marchants of Lisbon for Brasile, in which

carauel we had some 60 tunnes of wine, 1200 iarres of oyle, about 100 iarres of olives, certaine barrels of capers, three fats of peason, with divers other necessaries fit for our voyage: which wine, oyle, olives and capers were better to vs than gold. We had two men died before we passed the line, and divers sicke, which tooke their sicknesse in those hote climates; for they be wonderful unwholesome from 8 degrees of Northerly latitude unto the line, at that time of the yeere: for we had nothing but Ternados, with such thunder, lightning and raine, that we could not keep our men drie 3 houres together, which was an occasion of the infection among them, and their eating of salt victuals, with lacke of clothes to shift them. After we passed the line, we had the wind still at east south-east, which caried us along the coast of Brasil, 100 leagues from the maine, till we came in 26 degrees to the southward of the line, where the wind came up to the north, at which time we did account that the Cape of Buona Esperansa did beare off us east and by south, betwixt 900 and 1000 leagues. Passing this gulfe from the coast of Brasil vnto the Cape, we had the wind often variable, as it is vpon our coast, but for the most part so that we might lie our course. The 28 of July we had sight of the foresayd Cape of Buona Esperansa: vntill the 31 wee lay off and on, with the wind contrary, to double the Cape, hoping to double it, and so to have gone seventie leagues further, to a place called Agoada de S. Bras,[1] before we would have sought to have put into any harbour. But our men being weake and sicke in all our shippes, we thought good to seeke some place to refresh them. With which consent we bare up to the land to the northward of

[1] Bartolome Dias, with two vessels, sailed from Lisbon for the south in August 1486, and was the first European to double the Cape. In proceeding eastward, he reached the bay, which he named San Bras, where, in attempting to take in water, he was attacked by the natives. This is what Lancaster calls the Agoada (watering-place) de S. Bras.

the Cape, and going along the shore, we espied a goodly baie, with an iland lying to seawards of it, into which we did beare, and found it very commodious for our ships to ride in. This baie is called Agoada de Saldanha,[1] lying 15 leagues northward on the hither side of the Cape. The first of August being Sunday, we came to an anker in the baie, sending our mē on land, and there came vnto them certaine blacke salvages, very brutish, which would not stay, but retired from them. For the space of 15 or 20 dayes we could find no reliefe, but onely foules, which wee killed with our pieces, which were cranes and geese: there was no fish but muskles and other shelfish, which wee gathered on the rocks. After 15 or 20 daies being here, our admirall went with his pinnasse unto the iland which lieth off this baie, where he found great store of penguines and seales, whereof he brought good plenty with him. And twise after that we sent certain of our men, which at both times brought their bots lading vnto our ships. After we had bene here some time, we got here a negro, whom we compelled to march into the country with us, making signs to bring us some cattell; but at this time we could come to the sight of none, so we let the negro go with some trifles. Within 8 dayes after, he, with 30 or 40 other negros, brought us downe some 40 bullocks and oxen, with as many sheepe: at which time we bought but few of thē. But within 8 days after they came downe with as many more, and then we bought some 24 oxen, with as many sheepe. We bought an ox for two kniues, a stirke for a knife, and a sheepe for a knife, and some we bought for less value than a knife. The oxen be very large and well fleshed, but not fat. The sheepe are very big, and very good meat; they have no woll on their backs, but haire, and have great tailes, like the sheepe in Syria. There be divers sorts of wild beasts, as the antelope

[1] In 1502 Antonio de Saldanha, on his way out to India, gave his name to this Agoada de Saldanha, near the Cape of Good Hope.

(whereof M. Lancaster killed one of the bignes of a yong colt), the red and fallow deere, with other great beasts unknowen unto us. Here are also great store of ouergrowen monkeis. As touching our proceeding upon our voyage, it was thought good rather to proceed with two ships wel manned, then with three euill manned: for here we had of sound and whole men but 198, of which there went in the Penelope with the admiral 101, and in the Edward, with the worshipfull M. Captaine Lancaster, 97. We left behind 50 men with the Roiall Marchant, whereof there were many pretty well recovered, of which ship was master and gouernour, Abraham Kendal,[1] which for many reasons we thought good to send home. The disease that hath consumed our men hath bene the skurvie. Our souldiers which have not bene used to the sea, have best held out, but our mariners dropt away, which (in my judgment) proceedeth of their euill diet at home.

Sixe dayes after our sending back for England of the Marchant Roiall from Agoada de Saldanha, our Admirall, M. Captaine Raimond, in the Penelope, and M. James Lancaster, in the Edward Bonauenture, set forward to double the Cape of Buona Esperansa,[2] which they did very speedily. But being passed as far as Cape Dos Corrientes,[3] the 14 of Septēber we were encountered with a mighty storme and extreme gusts of wind, wherein we lost our general's companie, and could neuer heare of him nor his ship any more, though we did our best endeuour to seeke him up and downe a long while, and staid for him certaine dayes at the iland of Comoro, where we appointed to stay one for

[1] See also p. 17. But, in May's narrative, the name is given as Foxcroft.

[2] Here is some confusion, as they must have doubled the Cape before reaching the Agoada de Saldanha.

[3] Cape Corrientes is between Delagoa Bay and Sofala, in 24° 7′ 30″ S. Lat.

another. Foure dayes after this uncomfortable separation, in the morning toward ten of the clocke, we had a terrible clap of thunder, which slew foure of our men outright, their necks being wrung in sonder without speaking any word, and of 94 men there was not one untouched, whereof some were stricken blind, others were bruised in their legs and arms, and others in their brests, so that they voided blood two dayes after, others were drawen out at length, as though they had been racked. But (God be thanked) they all recouered, sauing onely the foure which were slaine outright. Also with the same thunder our maine maste was torne very grieuously from the head to the decke, and some of the spikes, that were ten inches into the timber, were melted with the extreme heate thereof. From thence wee shaped our course to the north-east, and not long after we fell upon the north-west end of the mighty island of S. Laurence;[1] which one of our men espied by God's good blessing late in the euening by moone light, who seeing afarre off the breaking of the sea, and calling to certaine of his fellowes, asked them what it was: which eft soones told him that it was the breaking of the sea upon the shoulds. Whereupon in very good time we cast about to auoyd the danger which we were like to have incurred. Thus passing on forward, it was our lucke to ouer-shoot Mozambique, and to fall in with a place called Quitangone,[2] two leagues to the northward of it, and we tooke three or four barkes of Moores, which barkes in their language they call *pangaias*, laden with millio, hennes, and ducks, with one Portugall boy, going for the prouision of Mozambique.

[1] Madagascar was first made known to Europe by Marco Polo. It was seen by Lourenzo Almeida, the son of the first Portuguese Viceroy in India, in 1506; and called San Lorenzo, by which name it appears on the earlier Portuguese charts.

[2] Quitangonha Island forms the northern boundary of Conducia Bay, and is about ten miles north of Mozambique.

Within few dayes following we came to an iland an hundred leagues to the north-east of Mozambique, called Comoro, which we found exceeding full of people, which are Moores of tawnie colour and good stature, but they be very trecherous and diligently to be taken heed of. Here wee desired to store our selues with water, whereof we stood in great need, and sent sixteene of our men well armed on shore in our boate; whom the people suffered quietly to land and water, and diuers of them with their king came aboord our ship in a gowne of crimosine satin, pinked after the Moorish fashion down to the knee, whom we entertained in the best maner, and had some conference with him of the state of the place and marchandises, using our Portugall boy which we had taken before for our interpreter, and in the end licensed the king and his company to depart, and sent our men againe for more water, who then also dispatched their businesse and returned quietly; the third time likewise we sent them for more, which also returned without any harme. And though we thought our selues furnished, yet our master, William Mace of Radcliffe, pretending that it might be long before we should finde any good watering place, would needes goe himselfe on shore with thirtie men, much against the will of our captaine, and hee and 16 of his company, together with one boat which was all that we had, and 16 others that were a washing ouer-against our ship, were betrayed of the perfidious Moores, and in our sight for the most part slaine, we not being able for want of a boat to yeeld them any succour. From hence with heauie hearts we shaped our course for Zanzibar, the 7 of November, where shortly after wee arriued, and made us a new boat of such boards as we had within boord, and rid in the road untill the 15 of February, where, during our aboad, we sawe diuers pangaias or boats, which are pinned with woodden pinnes, and sowed together with palmito cordes, and calked with the huskes of cocos shels beaten,

whereof they make occam. At length a Portugal pangaia comming out of the harborow of Zanzibar, where they haue a small Factorie, sent a canoa with a Moore which had bene christened, who brought us a letter wherein they desired to know what wee were, and what we sought. We sent them word we were Englishmen come from Don Antonio[1] upon businesse to his friends in the Indies; with which answere they returned, and would not any more come at us. Whereupon not long after we manned out our boat and tooke a *pangaia* of the Moores, which had a priest of theirs in it, which in their language they called a sherife;[2] whom we used very curteously; which the king tooke in very good part, hauing his priests in great estimation, and for his deliuerance furnished us with two moneths victuals, during all which time we detained him with us. These Moores informed us of the false and spitefull dealing of the Portugals towards us, which made them beleeve that we were cruell people and men-eaters, and willed them if they loued their safetie in no case to come neere us. Which they did onely to cut us off from all knowledge of the state and traffique of the countrey. While we road from the end of November until the middle of February in this harborough, which is sufficient for a ship of 500 tuns to ride in, we set upon a Portugal *pangaia* with our boat, but because it was very little, and our men not able to stirre in it, we were not able to take the sayd *pangaia*, which was armed with 10 good shot like our long fouling pieces. This place for the good-

[1] When Philip II seized upon Portugal in 1580, as the heir of King Henry the Cardinal, there were several other claimants. Philip claimed through his mother Isabella, sister of John III and of Henry. The English espoused the cause of Antonio, Prior of Crato, who was the illegitimate son of Luis, a younger brother of John III and Henry. The Braganzas descend from another brother of John III, named Duarte, and had a prior right as coming from the daughter of a brother, while Philip II claimed through a sister.

[2] Sherif, a descendant of the Prophet.

nesse of the harborough and watering, and plentifull refreshing with fish, whereof we tooke great store with our nets, and for sundry sorts of fruits of the countrey, as cocos and others which were brought us by the Moores, as also for oxen and hennes, is carefully to be sought for by such of our ships as shall hereafter passe that way. But our men had need to take good heed of the Portugals; for while we lay here the Portugal admiral of the coast from Melinda to Mozambique, came to view and to betray our boat if he could haue taken at any time advantage, in a gallie frigate of ten tunnes, with 8 or 9 oares on a side. Of the strength of which frigate and their trecherous meaning we were advertised by an Arabian Moore, which came from the king of Zanzibar diuers times about the deliuerie of the priest aforesayd, and afterward by another which we caried thence along with vs: for wheresoeuer we came, our care was to get into our hands some one or two of the countreys to learne the languages and states of those partes where we touched. Moreover, here againe we had another clap of thunder which did shake our foremast very much, which wee fisht and repaired with timber from the shore, whereof there is good store thereabout of a kind of trees some fortie foote high, which is red and tough wood, and as, I suppose, a kind of cedar. Here our surgeon, Arnold, negligently catching a great heate in his head, being on land with the master to seeke oxen, fell sicke and shortly died, which might haue bene cured by letting of blood before it had bin setled. Before our departure we had in this place some thousand weight of pitch, or rather a kind of gray and white gumme like vnto frankincense,[1] as clammie as turpentine, which in melting groweth as black as pitch, and is very brittle of it selfe, but we mingled it with oile, whereof wee had 300 iarres in the prize which we tooke to the northward of the equinoctiall, not farre from Guinie, bound for Brasil.[2] Sixe dayes before wee

[1] Apparently gum copal.

[2] See page 1.

departed hence, the Cape marchant of the factorie wrote a letter vnto our capitaine in the way of friendship, as he pretended, requesting a iarre of wine and a iarre of oyle, and two or three pounds of gunpowder, which letter hee sent by a Negro, his man, and a Moore in a canoa; we sent him his demands by the Moore, but tooke the Negro along with vs, because we vnderstood he had bene in the East Indies and knew somewhat of the countrey. By this Negro we were advertised of a small barke of some thirtie tunnes (which the Moores called a junco), which was come from Goa thither, laden with pepper for the Factorie and seruice of that kingdome. Thus hauing trimmed our shippe as we lay in this road, in the end we set forward for the coast of the East India, the 15 of February aforesayd, intending if we could to haue reached to Cape Comori, which is the headland or promontorie of the maine of Malauar, and there to haue lien off and on for such ships as should haue passed from Zeilan, Sant Tome, Bengala, Pegu, Malacca, the Moluccos, the coast of China, and the ile of Japan, which ships are of exceeding wealth and riches. But in our course we were very much deceiued by the currents that set into the gulfe of the Red Sea along the coast of Melinde. And the windes shortening upon us to the north-east and easterly, kept us that we could not get off, and so with the putting in of the currents from the westward within fourescore leagues of the Ile of Zocotora, farre from our determined course and expectation. But here we never wanted abundance of dolphins, bonitos, and flying fishes. Now while we found our selues thus farre to the northward, and the time being so farre spent, we determined to goe for the Red Sea, or for the iland of Zocotora, both to refresh our selues, and also for some purchase. But while wee were in this consultation the winde very luckily came about to the north-west and caried us directly toward Cape Comori. Before we should haue doubled this cape, we were determined to touch at the Ilands

of Mamale,[1] of which we had aduertisement, that one had victuals, standing in the northerly latitude of twelue degrees. Howbeit it was not our good lucke to finde it, which fell out partly by the obstinacie of our master; for the day before we fell in with part of the ilands the wind came about to the south-west, and then shifting our course we missed it. So the wind increasing southerly, we feared we should not haue bene able to haue doubled the cape, which would haue greatly hazarded our casting away upon the coast of India, the winter season and westerne monsons already being come in, which monsons continue on that coast until August. Neuertheless it pleased God to bring the wind more westerly, and so in the moneth of May 1592, we happily doubled Cape Comori without sight of the coast of India.[2] From hence, thus hauing doubled this cape, we directed our course for the Islands of Nicubar, which lie north and south with the westerne part of Sumatra, and in the latitude of 7 degrees to the northward of the equinoctiall. From which Cape of Comori unto the aforesayd ilands we ranne in sixe days with a very large wind though the weather were foule with extreme raine and gustes of windes. These ilands were missed through our masters default for want of due observation of the south starre. And we fell to the southward of them within the sight of the Ilands of Gomes Pulo, which lie hard upon the great Iland of Sumatra, the first of June, and at the north-east side of them we lay two or three dayes becalmed, hoping to haue had a pilote from Sumatra, within two leagues whereof wee lay off and on. Now the winter comming upon us with much bad weather, we directed our course from hence to the Ilands of Pulo Pinaon[3] (where by the way is to be noted that Pulo in the Malaian tongue signifieth an iland), at which ilands wee

[1] Manole, one of the Laccadives on the map of Ortelius of 1570.

[2] They of course passed round the Island of Ceylon.

[3] Penang.

arriued about the beginning of June, where we came to an anker in a very good harborough betweene three ilands; at which time our men were very sicke and many fallen. Here we determined to stay untill the winter were ouerpast. This place is in 6 degrees and a halfe to the northward, and some fiue leagues from the maine betweene Malacca and Pegu. Here we continued vntill the end of August. Our refreshing in the place was very smal, onely of oisters growing on rocks, great wilks, and some few fish which we tooke with our hookes. Here we landed our sicke men on these vninhabited ilands for their health, neverthelesse 26 of them died in this place, whereof John Hall, our master, was one, and M. Rainold Golding another, a marchant of great honestie and much discretion. In these ilands are abundance of trees of white wood, so right and tall, that a man may make mastes of them, being an hundred foote long. The winter passed and hauing watered our ship and fitted her to goe to sea, wee had left vs but 33 men and one boy, of which not past 22 were found for labour and helpe, and of them not past a third part sailers: thence we made saile to seek some place of refreshing, and went ouer to the maine of Malacca. The next day we came to an anker in a baie, in six fadomes water some two leagues from the shore. The master James Lancaster, our captaine, and M. Edmund Barker his lieutenant, and other of the companie manning the boat, went on shore to see what inhabitants might be found. And comming on land we found the tracking of some barefooted people which were departed thence not long before; for we sawe their fire still burning, but people we sawe none, nor any other liuing creature, saue a certaine kind of foule called oxe birds, which are a gray kind of sea-foule, like a snite in colour, but not in beake. Of these we killed some eight dozen with haile-shot, being very tame, and spending the day in search returned toward night aboord. The next day about two of the clocke in the afternoone, we espied a canoa

which came neere unto vs, but would not come aboord us, hauing in it some sixteen naked Indians, with whom neuertheles, going afterward on land, we had friendly conference, and promise of victuals. The next day, in the morning, we espied three ships, being all of burthen 60 or 70 tunnes, one of which we made to strike with our very boate; and understanding that they were of the towne of Martabam, which is the chiefe hauen towne for the great citie of Pegu, and the goods belonging to certaine Portugal Jesuites, and a biscuit baker a Portugal, we tooke that ship and did not force the other two, because they were laden for marchants of Pegu, but hauing this one at our command, we came together to an anker. The night folowing all of the men, except twelue, which we tooke in our ship, being most of them borne in Pegu, fled away in their boate, leauing their ship and goods with us. The next day we weighed our anker and went to the leeward of an iland hard by, and tooke in her lading being pepper, which shee and the other two had laden, at Pera,[1] which is a place on the maine 30 leagues to the south. Beside the aforesaid three ships, we tooke another ship of Pegu laden with pepper, and perceiuing her to be laden with marchants' goods of Pegu onely, we dismissed her without touching any thing.

Thus hauing staied here 10 daies and discharged her goods into the Edward, which was about the beginning of September, our sicke men being somewhat refreshed and lustie, with such relief as we had found in this ship, we weighed anker, determining to runne into the streights of Malacca, to the ilands called Pulo Sambilam,[2] which are some fiue and fortie leagues northward of the citie of

[1] Perak, the second Malay State on the western side of the peninsula of Malacca, counting from the north: bounded on the north by Quedah, and on the south by Salangore. The word *perak* means silver.

[2] Pulo Sambelong is the Malay name for the Nicobars. It means "nine islands". Little Nicobar Island is so called.

Malacca, to which ilands the Portugals must needs come from Goa or S. Thome, for the Malucos, China, and Japan. And when wee were there arriued, we lay too and agayne for such shipping as should come that way. Thus hauing spent some fiue dayes, upon Sunday we espied a saile which was a Portugall ship that came from Negapatan, a towne on the maine of India, ouer-against the north-east part of the Ile of Zeilan; and that night we tooke her, being of 250 tunnes; she was laden with rice for Malacca. Captaine Lancaster commanded their captaine and master aboord our shippe, and sent Edmund Barker, his lieutenant, and seuen more to keep this prize, who, being aboord the same, came to an anker in thirtie fadomes water; for in the chanell three or foure leagues from the shore you shall finde good ankorage. Being thus at an anker and keeping out a light for the Edward, another Portugall ship of Sant Thome of foure hundred tunnes, came and ankered hard by us. The Edward being put to seeward for lacke of helpe of men to handle her sailes, was not able the next morning to fetch her vp, vntill we, which were in the prize, with our boate went to helpe to man our shippe. Then comming aboord we went toward the shippe of Sant Thome, but our shippe was so foule that shee escaped us. After we had taken out of our Portugall prize what we thought good, we turned her and all her men away except a pilot and foure Moores. We continued here vntill the sixt of October, at which time we met with the ship of the captaine of Malacca, of seuen hundred tunnes, which came from Goa; we shot at her many shot, and at last shooting her maine-yard through, she came to an anker and yielded. We commanded her captain, master, pilot, and purser, to come on boord vs. But the captain accompanied with one soldier onely came, and after certaine conference with him, he made excuse to fetch the master and purser, which he sayd would not come vnless he went for them; but being gotten from vs in the edge of the euening,

he with all the people, which were to the number of about three hundred men, women, and children, gote ashore with two great boates, and quite abandoned the ship. At our comming aboord we found in her sixteene pieces of brasse, and three hundred buts of Canarie wine and Nipar wine, which is made of the palme trees, and rasin wine, which is also very strong; as also all kind of haberdasher wares, as hats, red caps knit of Spanish wooll, worsted stockings knit, shooes, veluets, taffataes, chamlers, and silkes, abundance of suckets, rice, Venice glasses, certaine papers full of false and counterfeit stones, which an Italian brought from Venice to deceiue the rude Indians with all, abundance of playing cardes, two or three packs of French paper. Whatsoever became of the treasure which usually is brought in roials of plate in this gallion, we could not find it. After that the mariners had disordredly pilled this rich shippe, the captaine, because they would not follow his commandement to vnlade those excellent wines into the Edward, abandoned her and let her driue at sea, taking out of her the choisest things that she had. And doubting the forces of Malacca, we departed thence to a baie, in the kingdome of Junsalaom,[1] which is betweene Malacca and Pegu, eight degrees to the northward, to seeke for pitch to trimme our ship. Here we sent our souldier, which the captaine of the aforesaid galion had left behind him with us, because he had the Malaian language, to deale with the people for pitch, which hee did faithfully, and procured vs some two or three quintals with promise of more, and certaine of the people came unto vs. We sent commodities to their king to barter for ambergriese, and for the hornes of abath, whereof the king onely hath the traffique in his hands. Now this abath is a beast

[1] Junk Seylon or Salanga, an island twenty miles long, off the N.W. extremity of the Malay peninsula. It contains extensive tin mines, and exports also edible birds' nests, ivory, and Japan wood. It now belongs to Siam. Hakluyt, in his "Epistle Dedicatorie", calls it "the main land of Junçalaon".

which hath one horne onely in her forehead, and is thought to be the female unicorne, and is highly esteemed of all the Moores in those parts as a most soueraigne remedie against poyson. We had onely two or three of these hornes, which are the colour of a browne grey, and some reasonable quantitie of amber-griese. At last the king went about to betray our Portugall with our marchandise; but he to get aboord vs, told him that we had gilt armour, shirtes of maile and halberds, which things they greatly desire; for hope whereof he let him returne aboord, and so he escaped the danger. Thus we left this coast and went backe againe in sight of Sumatra, and thence to the Ilands of Nicubar, where we arriued and found them inhabited with Moores, and after wee came to an anker the people came aboord vs in their canoas, with hennes, cocos, plantans, and other fruits; and in two dayes they brought vnto vs roials of plate, giuing vs them for calicut cloth; which roials they finde by diuing for them in the sea, which were lost not long before in two Portugall ships which were bound for China, and were cast away there. They call in their language the coco, *calambe;*[1] the plantane, *pison;*[2] a hen, *iam;* a fish, *iccan;* a hog, *babee.*[3] From thence we returned the 21 of Nouember to goe for the Iland of Zeilan, and arriued there about the third of December, 1592, and ankered vpon the south side in sixe fadomes water, where we lost our anker, the place being rockie and foule ground. Then we ranne along the south-west part of the sayd iland, to a place called Punta del Galle, where we ankered, determining there to have remained vntill the comming of the Bengala fleet of seuen or eight ships, and the fleete of Pegu of two or three sailes, and the Portugall shippes of Tanaseri, being a

[1] The Malay name is *ñur*, in Javanese *hâlapa.*

[2] *Pisang*, a banana in Malay.

[3] *Babi* is the most general name for a hog throughout the Malayan islands.

great baie to the southward of Martabam in the kingdom of Siam; which ships, by diuers intelligence which we had, were to come that way within fourteene dayes to bring commodities to serue the Caraks, which commonly depart from Cochin for Portugall by the middest of Januarie. The commodities of the shippes which come from Bengala bee fine pauillions for beds, wrought guilts, fine calicut cloth, pintados, and other fine workes and rice, and they make this voiage twice in the yeere. Those of Pegu being the chiefest stones, as rubies and diamants, but their chief fraight is rice and certaine cloth. Those of Tanaseri are chiefly fraighted with rice and Nipar wine, which is very strong, and in colour like vnto rocke water somewhat whitish, and very hote in taste like vnto aqua vitæ. Being shot vp to the place aforesayd, called Punta del Galle, wee came to an anker in foule ground and lost the same, and lay all that night a drift, because we had nowe but two ankers left vs, which were unstocked and in hold. Whereupon our men tooke occasion to come home, our captaine at that time lying very sicke, more like to die than to live. In the morning we set our foresaile, determining to lie vp to the northward, and there to keepe our selues to and againe out of the current, which otherwise would haue set us off to the southward from all knowen land. Thus hauing set our foresayle, and in hand to set all our other sayles to accomplish our aforesayd determination, our men made answere that they would take their direct course for England, and would stay there no longer. Nowe seeing they could not bee perswaded by any meanes possible, the captaine was constrained to give his consent to returne, leauing all hope of so great possibilities. Thus the eight of December, 1592, wee set sayle for the Cape of Buona Esperansa, passing by the Ilands of Maldiua, and leauing the mightie Iland of S. Lawrence on the starreboord, or northward in the latitude of 26 degrees to the south. In our passage ouer from S.

Lawrence to the maine we had exceeding great store of bonitos and albocores, which are a greater kind of fish; of which our captaine, being now recouered of his sicknesse, tooke with an hooke as many in two or three howers as would serue fortie persons a whole day. And this skole of fish continued with our ship for the space of fiue or sixe weekes, all which while we tooke to the quantitie aforesayd, which was no small refreshing to vs. In February, 1593, we fell with the eastermost land of Africa at a place called Baia de Agoa,[1] some 100 leagues to the north-east of the Cape of Good Hope; and finding the winds contrary, we spent a moneth or fiue weekes before we could double the cape. After wee had doubled it in March folowing, wee directed our course for the Iland of Santa Helena, and arriued there the third day of Aprill, where wee staidd to our great comfort nineteene dayes; in which meane space some one man of vs tooke thirtie goodly congers in one day, and other rockie fishe and some bonitos. After our arriuall at Santa Helena, I, Edmund Barker, went on shore with foure or fiue Peguins, or men of Pegu, which we had taken, and our surgeon, where in an house by the chappell I found an Englishman, one John Legar, of Burie, in Suffolke, who was left there eighteene moneths by Abraham Kendall,[2] who put in there with the Roiall Marchant, and left him there to refresh him on the iland, being otherwise like to haue perished on shipboord; and at our comming wee found him as fresh in colour and in as good plight of body to our seeming as might be, but crazed in mind and halfe out of his wits, as afterward wee perceiued; for whether he were put in fright of vs, not knowing at first what we were, whether friends or foes, or of sudden ioy when he vnderstood we were his olde consorts and countreymen, hee became idle-

[1] Delagoa Bay.

[2] See page 4, and note.

headed, and for eight dayes space, neither night nor day, tooke any naturall rest, and so at length died for lacke of sleepe. Here two of our men, whereof the one was diseased with skuruie, and the other had bene nine moneths sicke of the fluxe, in short time while they were on the iland recoured their perfect health.

We found in this place great store of very holesome and excellant good greene figs, orenges, and lemons very faire, abundance of goates and hogs, and great plentie of partriges, guiniecocks, and other wilde foules. Our mariners, somewhat discontented, being now watered and hauing some provision of fish, contrary to the will of the capitaine, would straight home. The capitaine—because he was desirous to goe for Phernambuc, in Brazil—granted their request; and about the 12 of Aprill, 1593, we departed from S. Helena, and directed our course for the place aforesayd. The next day our captaine, calling vpon the sailers to finish a foresaile which they had in hand, some of them answered that vnlesse they might goe directly home they would lay their hands to nothing; whereupon he was constrained to follow their humour. And from thencefoorth we directed our course for our countrey, which we kept vntill we came 8 degrees to the northward of the equinoctiall, betweene which 8 degrees and the line we spent some sixe weekes, with many calme and contrary winds at north, and sometimes to the eastward, and sometimes to the westward: which losse of time and expense of our victuals, whereof we had very small store, made vs doubt to keepe our course: and some of our men growing into a mutinie, threatened to breake vp other men's chests, to the ouerthrow of our victuals and all our selues, for eury man had his share of his victuals before in his owne custody, that we might be sure what to trust to, and husband it more thriftily. Our capitaine seeking to preuent this mischiefe, being aduertised by one of our companie which had bene at the Ile of Trinidada

in M. Chidleys voyage,[1] that there we should be sure to haue refreshing, hereupon directed his course to that iland, and not knowing the currents, we were put past it in the night into the Gulf of Paria, in the beginning of June, wherein we were 8 dayes, finding the current continually setting in, and oftentimes we were in 3 fadomes water, and could find no going out until the current had put us ouer to the western side vnder the maine land, where we found no current at all, and more deep water; and so keeping by the

[1] One would like to know more of this romantic voyage, and of its gallant projector. John Chudleigh, commonly called Chidley, as Prince tells us and as the name is spelt by Hakluyt, was of a very ancient family in Devonshire, long settled at Chudleigh and Broad Clist. This John Chudleigh, the navigator, was the eldest son of Christopher Chudleigh of Chudleigh, by Christiana, heiress of William Stretchlegh. Prince says that "he was of a right martial, bold, and adventurous spirit, and the famous actions of Drake and Cavendish ran so much in his mind, that he could not rest without undertaking to show himself the third Englishman that had circumnavigated the world, and performed some noble service for his country." He was also the friend and neighbour of John Davis, the great Arctic navigator, who, when he discovered the opening afterwards known as Hudson's Strait, called the northern point of the entrance Warwick's Foreland, and the southern Cape Chidley or Chudleigh, in 1587. N. W. Fox afterwards truly observed that, by the discovery of this entrance, "Davis did light Hudson into his straights".

Mr. John Chudleigh fitted out his expedition at Plymouth, and sailed on the 5th of August, 1589. He commanded the *Wild Man*, of 300 tons, in which was Benjamin Wood, as master; and he had with him the *White Lion*, of 340 tons, Captain Wheele; and the *Delight*, under Captain Merick. The object of the voyage was to pass through Magellan's Strait, visit the coast of Aranco, and then circumnavigate the world. The young leader of the expedition died in the Straits of Magellan, and the ships returned. There is an account of the disastrous cruise of the *Delight*, written by one of the crew named William Magroth, in Hakluyt (iv, p. 357). John Chudleigh had married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Speke, K.B., of White Lackington, in Somersetshire, and left two sons, George and John. The former was created a baronet in 1622, and died in 1657. The baronetcy became extinct in 1745; and Frances, heiress of Sir George Chudleigh, Bart., of Ashton, married Sir John Chichester, Bart., of Youlston.

shore, the wind off the shore euery night did helpe vs out to the northward. Being cleare, within foure or fiue dayes after we fell with the Ile of Mona,[1] where we ankored and rode some eighteene dayes. In which time the Indians of Mona gave us some refreshing. And in the meane space there arriued a French ship of Cane, in which was captaine one Monsieur de Barbaterre, of whom we bought some two buts of wine and bread, and other victuals. Then wee watered and fitted our shippe, and stopped a great leake which broke on vs as we were beating out of the Gulfe of Paria. And hauing thus made ready our ship to goe to sea, we determined to goe directly for Newfoundland. But before wee departed, there arose a storme, the winde being northerly, which put vs from an anker and forced us to the southward of Santo Domingo. This night we were in danger of shipwracke upon an iland called Sauona,[2] which is enuironed with flats lying 4 or 5 miles off: yet it pleased God to cleare vs of them, and so we directed our course westward along the Iland of Santo Domingo, and doubled Cape Tibvron,[3] and passed through the old chanell betweene S. Domingo and Cuba for the Cape of Florida. And here we met againe with the French ship of Caen, whose captaine could spare vs no more victuals, as he saide, but only hides which he had taken by traffike vpon those islands, wherewith we were content, and gaue him for them to his good satisfaction. After this, passing the Cape of Florida, and cleere of the chanell of Bahama, we directed our course for the banke of Newfoundland. Thus running to the height of 36 degrees, and as farre to the east as the Isle of Bermuda, the 17 of September finding the winds there very variable, contrarie to our expectation and all men's writings, we lay there a day or two, the winde being northerly and

[1] Mona is a small island between Puerto Rico and San Domingo.

[2] Saona, an islet off the south-east point of San Domingo.

[3] The western point of San Domingo.

increasing continually more and more, it grewe to be a storme and a great frete of wind, which continued with us some 24 houres, with such extremitie, as it caried not onely our sayles away, being furled, but also made much water in our shippe, so that wee had six foote water in holde, and hauing freed our ship thereof with bailing, the winde shifted to the northwest and became dullerd; but presently vpon it the extremitie of the storme was such that with the labouring of our ship we lost our foremaste, and our ship grewe as full of water as before. The storme once ceased, and the wind contrary to goe our course, we fell to consultation which might be our best way to saue our liues. Our victuals now being vtterly spent, and having eaten hides 6 or 7 daies, we thought it best to beare backe againe for Dominica and the islands adioyning, knowing that there we might haue some reliefe, whereupon we turned backe for the said islands. But before we could get thither the winde scanted vpon vs, which did greatly endanger vs for lacke of fresh water and victuals: so that we were constrained to beare up to the westward, to certaine other ilandes called the Pueblas or Cloudie Ilands, towards the Ile of S. Juan de porto Rico, where at our arriuall we found land-crabs and fresh water, and tortoyses, which come most on lande about the full of the moone. Here hauing refreshed our selues some 17 or 18 dayes, and hauing gotten some small store of victuals into our ship, we resolued to returne againe for Mona, upon which our determination fiue of our men left vs, remaining still on the Iles of Nueblas, for all perswasions that we could vse to the contrary, which afterward came home in an English shippe. From these iles we departed, and arrived at Mona about the twentieth of November, 1593, and there comming to an anker toward two or three of the clocke in the morning, the captaine, and Edmund Barker, his lieutenant, with some few others, went on land to the houses of the olde Indian and his three sonnes, think-

ing to have gotten some foode, our victuals being all spent, and we not able to proceede any further vntill we had obteyned some new supply. We spent two or three daies in seeking prouision to cary aboord to relieue the whole companie; and coming to go aboord, the winde then being northerly and the sea somewhat growne, they could not come on shore with the boate, which was a thing of small succour and not able to rowe in any rough sea, whereupon we stayed untill the next morning, thinking to have had lesse winde and safer passage. But in the night, about twelve of the clocke, our ship did driue away with fiue men and a boy onely in it; our carpenter secretly cut their own cable, leauing nineteene of vs on land without boate or any thing, to our great discomfort. In the middest of these miseries, reposing or trust in the goodnesse of God, which many times before had succoured vs in our greatest extremities, we contented our selues with our poore estate, and sought meanes to preserue our liues. And because one place was not able to sustaine vs, we tooke our leaues one of another, diuiding our selues into seuerall companies. The greatest reliefe that we sixe which were with the captaine could finde for the space of nine and twentie dayes was the stalkes of purse-laine boyled in water, and nowe and then a pompion, which we found in the garden of the olde Indian, who vpon this our second arriuall with his three sonnes stole from vs, and kept himselfe continually aloft in the mountaines. After the ende of nine and twentie dayes we espied a French shippe, which afterwarde we vnderstood to be of Diepe, called the Luisa, whose captaine was one Monsieur Felix, vnto whom wee made a fire, at sight whereof he tooke in his topsayles, bare in with the land, and shewed us his flagge, whereby we iudged him French; so comming along to the westerne ende of the island there he ankered, we making downe with all speede vnto him. At this time the Indian and his three sonnes came down to our captaine,

Master James Lancaster, and went along with him to the shippe. This night he went aboord the French man, who gave him good entertainment, and the next day fetched eleuen more of vs aboord, entreating vs all very courteously. This day came another French shippe of the same towne of Diepe, which remayned there vntill night, expecting our other seuen mens comming downe: who, albeit we caused certaine pieces of ordinance to be shot off, to call them, yet came not downe. Whereupon we departed thence, being deuided sixe into one ship, and sixe into another, and leauing this island, departed for the north side of Saint Domingo, where we remained vntill Aprill following (1594), and spent two monethes in traffike with the inhabitants by permission for hides and other merchandises of the countrey. In this, meane while, there came a shippe of Newhaven to the place where we were, whereby we had intelligence of our seuen men which wee left behinde us at the Isle of Mona, which was, that two of them brake their neckes with ventring to take foules vpon the cliffes; other three were slaine by the Spaniards, which came from Saint Domingo, vpon knowledge given by our men which went away in the Edward; the other two this man of Newhaven had with him in his shippe, which escaped the Spaniards bloodie hands. From this place Captaine Lancaster and his lieutenant, Master Edmund Barker, shipped themselves in another shippe of Diepe, the captaine whereof was one John La Noe, which was readie first to come away, and leauing the rest of their companie in other ships, where they were well intreated, to come after him, on Sunday the seuenth of April, 1594, they set homewarde, and disbocking through the Caijcos,[1] from thence arriued safely in Diepe, within two and fortie dayes after, on the 19 of May, where after we had stayed two dayes to refresh our selues, and giuen humble thanks vnto God, and vnto our friendly neighbours, we

[1] The Caicos Passage, in the Bahamas.

tooke passage for Rie, and landed there on Friday, the 24 of May, 1594, hauing spent in this voyage three yeeres, sixe weekes and two dayes, which the Portugales performe in half the time, chiefly because wee lost our fit time and season to set forth in the beginning of our voyage.

We vnderstood in the East Indies by certaine Portugales which we tooke that they have lately discouered the coast of China to the latitude of nine and fiftie degrees, finding the sea still open to the northward; giuing great hope of the northeast or northwest passage. Witnesse, Master James Lancaster.

NARRATIVE OF THE FIRST VOYAGE

OF

SIR JAMES LANCASTER.

BY

HENRY MAY.

A briefe note of a voyage to the East Indies, begun the 10 of April, 1591, wherein were three tall ships—the *Penelope* of Captaine Raimond, Admirall; the *Merchant Royall*, whereof was Captaine Samuel Foxcroft,[1] Vice-Admirall; the *Edward Bonaventure*, whereof was Captaine M. James Lancaster, Rere-Admirall, with a small pinnesse. Written by *Henry May*, who, in his returne homeward by the West Indies, suffred shipwracke vpon the Isle of Bermuda, whereof here is annexed a large description.

The tenth of April, 1591, we departed from Plymmouth with the ships aforesayd. In May following wee arriued at Grand Canaria, one of the fortunate islands. Also, toward the end of this month we tooke a Portugall shippe being bound for Brasil, within three degrees to the northward of the equinoctiall, which serued greatly to our refreshing. The 29 of July following we came to Aguada Saldania, a good harbour neere the Cape of Buona Speranca, where we stayed about a month with the Merchant royall, which by reason of sicknesse in our fleet was sent home for England with diuers weake men. Here we bought an oxe for a knife of threepence, a sheepe for a broken knife, or any other odd trifle of the people which were Negros, clad in cloaks or mantles of raw hides, both men and women. The 8 of

[1] According to the preceding narrative of Barker, this captain's name was Abraham Kendall. See pages 4 and 17.

September the Penelope and the Edward Bonaventure weyed anker, and that day we doubled the Cape of Buona Speranca. The 12 following we were taken with an extreame tempest or huricano. This evening we saw a great sea breake ouer our Admirall, the Penelope, and their light strooke out: and after that we neuer saw them any more. In October following, we in the Edward, fell with the westermost part of the Isle of S. Laurence about midnight, knowing not where we were. Also, the next day we came to an anker at Quitangone, a place on the mainland of Africa, which is two or three leagues to the northward of Moçambique, where the Portugals of the Isle of Moçambique fetch all their fresh water. Here we tooke a pangaia, with a Portugall boy in it; which is a vessell like a barge, with one matsaile of coco nut leaues. The barge is sowed together with the rindes of trees, and pinned with wooden pinnes. In this pangaia we had certaine corne called millio, hennes, and some fardels of blew Calicut cloth. The Portugall boy we tooke with vs, and dismissed the rest. From this place we went for an island called Comoro, vpon the coast of Melinde, which standeth about 11 degrees to the south of the equinoctial: in which island we stayed all Nouember, finding the people blacke and very comly, but very treacherous and creull: for the day before we departed from thence, they killed thirty of our men on shore, among whom was William Mace, our master, and two of his mates; the one of them being in the boat with him to fetch water, the other being on shore against our ship; they hauing first betrayed our boat. From hence we went for the Isle of Zanzibar, on the coast of Melinde; whereas, wee stayed and wintered vntil the beginning of February following.

The second of February, 1592, wee wayed anker, and set saile directly for the East Indies; but hauing calmes and contrary windes, wee were vntill the moneth of June before wee could recouer the coast of India neere Calicut; whereby

many of our men died for want of refreshing. In the moneth of June we came to an anker at the Isles of Pulo Pinaom, whereas we stayed vntill the first day of September, our men being very sicke, and dying apace. This day we set saile, and directed our course for Malaca: and wee had not bene farre at sea, but wee tooke a shippe of the kingdome of Pegu of some fourescore tunnes, with wooden ankers, and about fiftie men in her, with a pinnesse of some eighteene tunnes at her stearne, both laden with pepper. But their pinnesse stole from vs in a gust in the morning. Here we might haue taken two shippes more of Pegu, laden likewise with pepper and rice. In this moneth also we tooke a great Portugall ship of six or seuen hundred tun, laden chiefly with victuals, chests of hats, pintados, and Calicut clothes. Besides this, we tooke another Portugall ship of some hundred tun, laden with victuals, rice, calicos, pintados, and other commodities. These ships were bound for Malaca with victuals: for those of Goa, of S. Thomas, and of other places in the Indies doe victuall at, because that victuals there are very scarce.

In the moneth of Nouember, 1592, we shaped our course for the Island of Nicubar, lying certaine leagues to the north-west of the famous Island of Sumatra; whereas, within short time wee came to anker: and here wee had very good refreshing: for after wee arriued there, the people (whom we found in religion to be Mahumetans) came aboord vs in their canoes, with hennes, cocos, plantans, and other fruits: and within two dayes they brought vnto vs reals of plate, giuing vs them for Calicut cloth: which reals they found by diuing in the sea, which were lost not long before in two Portugall shippes which were bound for China, and were cast away there. This was the furthest place that we were at to the south-east: and heere, because our company by this time was much wasted and diminished, we resolued to turne back to the Isle of Zeilan.

Wherefore, we weyed anker in the moneth of Nouember, and arriued at Zeilan about the end of the same moneth. In this island groweth great store of excellent cinamonn, and the best diamonds in the world. Here our captaine meant to stay to make vp our voyage: whereof hee conceiued great hope, by certaine intelligence which wee had receiued; but the company, which were in all but 33 men and boyes, being in a mutiny, and every day ready to go together by the eares (the captaine being sicke and like for to die), would not stay, but would needs go home.

The 8 of December, 1592, we set saile homeward, but some 15 dayes before we had sight of the Cape of Good Hope, we were forced to share our bread, by reason we had certaine flies in our ship, which deuoured most part of our bread before we were aware: so that when we came to sharing, we had but 31 pounds of bread a man to carry vs into England, with a small quantity of rice a day.

The last of March, 1593, we doubled the Cape of Bona Sperança.

In April next insuing we came to anker at the Island of S. Helena; whereas we found an English man, a tailer, which had bene there 14 moneths before we came thither: so we sending our boat on shore with some ten men, they found this English man in the chapell, who by reason of the heat of the climate, was inforced to keepe himselfe out of the sun. Our company hearing one sing in the chapell, supposing it had bene some Portugall, thrust open the doore, and went in vnto him: but the poore man, seeing so many come in vpon him on the sudden, and thinking them to be Portugals, was first in such a feare, not hauing seene any man in 14 moneths before, and afterwards knowing them to be Englishmen, and some of them his acquaintance, in such ioy, that, what betweene excessiue sudden feare and ioy, he became distracted of his wits, to our great sorowes. Here we found, of his drying, some 40 goats. The party had

made him, for want of apparell, two sutes of goats' skinnes with the hairy side outwards, like vnto the sauages of Canada. Here we stayed all this moneth. This man liued vntill we came to the West Indies, and then he died.

In the moneth of June, 1593, we arriued at the Island of Trinidad, in the West Indies, hoping there to finde refreshing: but we could not get any, by reason that the Spanyards had taken it. Here we were imbayed betweene the island and the maine; and, for want of victuals, the company would haue forsaken the ship: whereupon, the captaine was inforced to sweare euery man not to forsake the ship vntill we should see further occasion. Out of this bay, called Boca de Dragone, it pleased God to deliuer vs: from whence we directed our course for the Island of S. Juan de Puerto Rico, but fell with the small Isle of Mona, where we abode some fifteene dayes, finding in that place some small refreshing. And heere arriued a ship of Caen in Normandy, whereof was captaine one Monsieur Charles de la Barbotiere, who greatly refreshed vs with bread and other prouision, which we greatly wanted. And so we tooke our leaues the one of the other.

In July, hauing foule weather at Mona, we were forced to wey anker, and to set saile, directing our course for Cape Tiburon: and in doubling of the Cape we had a gust from the shore, which caried away all our sailes from the yards: so that we had left but one new forecourse to helpe our selues withall: which canuas the aforesayd Frenchman did helpe vs with all. Also, hauing doubled the foresayd Cape in the distresse aforenamed, the foresayd capitan de la Barbotiere, with his pinnesse, gaue chase vnto vs againe; who, being come nere vnto vs, I went aboord him, certifying him what distresse we were in. The gentleman replied to me againe, that there was not anything in his shippe, but what he could spare he would helpe vs withall. So, to conclude, we agreed with him for canuas. Moreover,

he sayd that if we would go with him to an harbour called Gonnany, which is to the north of Cape Tiburon, that then he would helpe vs with fresh victuals enough. Whereon I returned aboord our ship, and certified our captaine of all: who made it knowen vnto the company; which no sooner heard of it, but they would all go in. So here we staied with the aforesaid Frenchman 15 dayes: but small refreshing we could get, because the Spaniards stood in some feare of the Frenchman of war, supposing our ship to be a Portugal, and that we were his prize; neuerthelesse, hee certified to the contrary. And, in staying so long with him, and hauing little refreshing, our company began to be in a mutiny, and made report that the captaine and I went aboord the Frenchman but to make good cheere, and had not any care of them: but I protest before God, that our care was to get victuals whereby we might haue bene gone from him. But, in the meanetime, a great part of our company had conspired to take away the Frenchman's pinnesse, and with her to boord the man of warre. While these things were in complotting, one of their consorts went aboord the Frenchman, and certified him of all the conspiracy. Whereupon the captaine of the French ship sent for our captaine and we to come aboord to dinner: and we stayed with him all the afternoone, being inuited vnto supper; and, being at supper, he himselfe would not a great while come to vs: but at length he came. At his comming we asked of him what newes. Who answered vs, that either we must depart from him, or els he must goe seeke some other harborow. Whereupon, I told captaine Lancaster, who prayed me to tell him that, rather then he would be any hindrance vnto him, we would be gone. But, in the mean time, while we were thus talking together, the Frenchman weyed and set saile: which we perceiued, and asked him what he meant by it. He replied to the captaine and me, that he kept vs for his security, and that our men had

purposed as is aforesayd. When he came thwart our shippe, it blew a prety gaile of winde: the boat being asterne of them, hauing in her two Moores and two men of Pegu, which we had giuen them, brake away. Then was the Frenchman worse then before, and did threaten vs very sore that we should pay his voyage. In the meanetime, the Edward, seeing vs part, weyed and set saile to go for England: and they did share among them all the captaine's victuals and mine, when they saw the Frenchman keepe vs as prisoners.

So the next morning we went to seeke out the Frenchman's pinnesse; which being at Laguna we shot off a piece, and so she came to vs, hauing in her three more of our company, Edmund Barker, our lieutenant, and one John West, and Richard Lucland, one of the mutinous crew. The which I told the Frenchman of, and he could not deny, but there was such a thing pretended. Then I was put into the French pinnesse to seeke their boat; and in the meane time they would go to see if they could ouertake our shippe. And the next day we should meet againe at Cape S. Nicolas; so the next morning we met together all three of vs, but heard no newes of his boat. So he hauing Spanyards and Negros aboord of vs, requested to haue them. Our captaine desired him to send his boat aboord our shippe, and he should haue them with all his heart. So with much adoe he sent his boat and had them. Then he demanded of them if his boat were not aboord the ship. They answered no. So that then Monsieur de la Barbotiere was satisfied; and then we were great friends again to all our ioyes.

The 12 of August, 1593, our captaine was sent aboord our ship, but before his departure he requested the captaine of the French ship that he would give me a passage home with him, to certifie the owners what had passed in all our voyage, as also the vnrulinesse of the company. And this day we tooke our leaues the one of the other; the Edward

for England, and we bare in for Gonnany, where afterwards we found the Frenchman's boat. The last of Nouember, 1593, Monsieur de la Barbotiere departed from a port called Laguna, in Hispaniola. The 17 of December next insuing, it was his fortune to haue his ship cast away upon the north-west part of the Isle of Bermuda about midnight; the pilots making themselues at noone to be to the southward of the island twelue leagues, certified the captaine that they were out of all danger. So they demanded of him their wine of heighth; the which they had. And being, as it should seeme, after they had their wine, carelesse of their charge which they tooke in hand, being as it were drunken, through their negligence a number of good men were cast away; and I being but a stranger among 50 and odde Frenchmen and others, it pleased God to appoint me to be one of them that were saved, I hope to his service and glory. We made account at the first that we were cast away hard by the shore, being hie cliffs, but we found our selues seuen leagues off; but with our boat and a raft which we had made and towed at our boat's sterne, we were saved some 26 of vs; among whom were no more English but my selfe. Now being among so many strangers, and seeing not roome for the one halfe, I durst neither presse into the boat, nor vpon the raft, for feare lest they should haue cast me ouer-boord, or else haue killed me; so I stayed in the ship which was almost full of water, vntill the captaine being entred the boat called me vnto him being at hand, for that it stood vpon life or death; and so I presently entred, leauing the better halfe of our company to the mercy of the sea. After this we rowed all the day vntil an hour or two before night yer we could come on land, towing the raft with the boat. When we came on shore, being all the day without drinke, every man tooke his way to see if he could finde any; but it was long before any was found. At length one of the pilots digging among a company of weeds found fresh water

to all our great comfort, being only raine water; and this was all the fresh water that we found on the shore. But there are in this island many fine bayes, wherein, if a man did dig, I thinke, there might be foūd store of fresh water. This island is diuided all into broken islands: and the greatest part I was vpon, which might be some 4 or 5 miles long, and 2 miles and a halfe ouer; being all woods, as cedar and other timber, but cedar is the chiefest. Now, it pleased God, before our ship did split, that we saued our carpenters' tooles, or els I thinke we had bene there to this day: and hauing recoured the aforesaid tooles, we went roundly about the cutting downe of trees, and in the end built a small barke of some 18 tun, for the most part with tronnels and very few nailes. As for tackling, we made a voyage aboord the ship before she split, and cut downe the shrowds, and so we tackled our barke and rigged her. In stead of pitch we made lime, and mixed it with the oile of tortoises; and, assoone as the carpenters had calked, I and another, with ech of vs a small sticke in our hands, did plaister the morter into the seames; and, being in April, when it was warm and fair weather, we could no sooner lay it on, but it was dry, and as hard as a stone. In this moneth of April, 1594, the weather being very hot, we were afrayd our water should faile vs, and therefore made the more haste away: and, at our departure, we were constrained to make two great chests, and calked them, and stowed them on ech side of our maine mast, and so put in our prouision of raine water, and 13 liue tortoises for our food, for our voyage which we intended to Newfoundland. In the south part of this Island of Bermuda there are hogs, but they are so leane that you can not eat them, by reason the island is so barren: but it yeeldeth great store of fowle, fish, and tortoises. And to the eastward of the island are very good harbours, so that a shippe of 200 tun may ride there land-locked, without any danger, with water enough. Also in

this island is as good fishing for pearles as is any in the West Indies, but that the place is subject to foule weather, as thundering, lightning, and raine: but in April and part of May we had very faire and hot weather.

The 11 of May it pleased God to set vs cleere of the island, to the no little ioy of vs all, after we had liued in the same almost the space of 5 moneths. An the 20 of May we fell with the land nere to Cape Briton, where we ran into a fresh water riuer, whereof there be many, and tooke in wood, water, and ballast. And here the people of the countrey came vnto vs, being clothed all in furs, with the furred side vnto their skins, and brought with them furres of sundry sorts to sell, besides great store of wild ducks: so, some of our company hauing saued some small beads, bought some of their ducks. Here we stayed not aboue foure houres, and so departed. This should seeme to be a very good countrey. And we saw very fine champion ground, and woods. From this place we ranne for the banke of Newfoundland, whereas we met with diuers, but none would take in a man of vs, vntill it pleased God that wee met with a barke of Falmouth, which receiued vs all for a little time; and with her we tooke a French ship, wherein I left Captain de la Barbotiere, my deere friend, and all his company, and stayed myselfe aboord the English barke: and hauing passage in the same, in the moneth of August I arriued at Falmouth, 1594.

THE VOYAGE

OF

CAPTAIN JAMES LANCASTER

TO

PERNAMBUCO.

The well gouerned and prosperous voyage of M. James Lancaster begun with three ships and a galley-frigate from London, in October 1594, and intended for *Fernambuck*, the porte-towne of Olinda, in Brasil.[1] In which voyage (besides the taking of nine and twenty ships and frigats) he surprized the sayd port-towne, being strongly fortified and manned; and held possession thereof thirty dayes together (notwithstanding many bolde assaults of the enemy, both by land and water), and also prouidently defeated their dangerous and almost ineuitable fire-works. Heere he found the cargazon or freight of a rich East Indian carack; which, together with great abundance of sugars, Brasil-wood, and cotton, he brought from thence; lading therewith fifteene sailes of tall ships and barks.

In September 1594, the worshipfull M. John Wats, Alderman; M. Paul Banning, Alderman; and others of worship in the City of London, victualled three good ships; to wit, the Consent, of the burthen of 240 tunnes or thereabout; the Salamon, of 170 tunnes; and the Virgin, of 60 tunnes: and appointed for commanders in this voyage M. James

[1] A factory was originally settled at Pernambuco by a ship from Marseilles; but in 1530 the line of coast from the Rio de San Francisco to the Rio de Juraza was granted to Duarte Coelho Pereira, and he came there with his family to found a colony, landing at the port of Pernambuco. He exclaimed, "*O que linda situaçam!*"; hence the town was called Olinda, and the fort Recife. During the first years the new colony had to resist incessant hostilities from the Cahetes Indians; but afterwards it enjoyed a long period of prosperity.

Lancaster,[1] of London, gentleman, admirall of the fleet; M. Edmund Barker, of London, vice admirall; and M. John Audely, of Poplar, neere London, rere admirall, hauing in their sayd ships to the number of 275 men and boyes.

Being fully furnished with all needfull prouision, wee departed from Blackwall in October following, keeping our owne coast, vntill we came into the West Countrey, where we met with such gusts and stormes, that the Salomon spending her mast at the Range of Dartmouth, put into harbour; but by the earnest care and industry of the generall and others hauing charge, she was shortly againe prouided. Which done, hauing a pleasant gale for our purpose, we put foorth from Dartmouth the last of Nouember following. But contrary to our expectation, not fifty leagues from our owne coast, we lost the Salomon and the Virgin, by a storme of contrary winde that fell vpon vs: yet, being alone, in hope to meet them about the Canaries or Cape Blank, we kept on our course to the Canaries, but could heare no tidings of our consorts; which greatly grieued vs.

Thence we went, bearing for the Isle of Tenerif, where, in the morning early, we had sight of a saile, which being becalmed vnder the shore, was towing with their boat ahead, hauing one other at her sterne. For this saile we manned our boat, appointing our men wel for fight, if need should require. The Spaniards, seeing our boat come, entred theirs, and leauing the ship, sought to saue themselues by flight: but our men persued them so fast, that they boorded them, and brought them with their shippe to our generall. This ship was laden with 80 tunnes of Canary-

[1] Southey says that there was what may be called moral treason, on the part of Lancaster, in bearing arms against the Portuguese, because he had, by his own account, been brought up among them, lived among them as a gentleman, served with them as a soldier, and dwelt among them as a merchant.—*History of Brazil*, ii, p. 364.

Southey gives an account of the expedition of Lancaster against Pernambuco.—*Ibid.*, pp. 364-71.

wine, which came not vnto vs before it was welcome. We kept and manned it, plying that day, and the next night thereabout. The very next morning we had sight of one other; to whome, in like maner, wee sent our boat: but their gunner made a shot at her, and strooke off a propper yoang man's arme; yet we inforced her to yeeld, and found 40 tunnes of wine in her. The Spaniards hauing their free passage, and an acquitance for the deliuery of their wines, were all set on shore vpon Tenerif, making a quicke returne of their long voyage intended into the West Indies.

Hence we departed toward Cape Blank; and before wee came thither, we met againe with the Virgin, our rere admirall, whose men tolde vs for very trueth, that the Salomen was returned for England; inforced so to doe, by spending her mast the second time. Which, when our men vnderstood, they were all in a maze, not knowing what to doe, and saying among themselues that their force was but small when all our strength were together, and now we had lost the one halfe of our strength, we were not able to performe the voyage: and therefore some of them came to the captain, asking him what he would now do, seeing the Salomon was lost, the one halfe of our strength, giuing him counsell to beare vp for the West Indies, and proue there to make his voyage, because his first plat for want of strength was cleane ouerthrown. The captaine hearing this new nouelty, as not vnacquainted with the variable pretenses of mariners, made them this answere: Sirs, I made knowen to you all at my comming out of England what I pretended, and that I meant to go for Fernambuck; and, although at the present we want one of our ships, yet (God willing) I meane to go forward, not doubting but to meet her at the appointed places, which are either at Cape Blank or the Islands of Cape Verde: for I am assured that M. Barker, the captaine, is so resolute to performe this voyage, that his mast being repaired, he will not faile to meet vs, and it

were no wisdome for vs to diuert our course, till we haue sought him at those places where our appointed meeting is: for the diuerting of courses is the ouerthrow of most of our actions. And I hope you will be all contented herewith: for to go any other course then I haue determined (by God's helpe), I will not be drawen vnto. With these reasons and many others shewed, they rested all satisfied: and at our comming to Cape Blank (God be praised) we met with the Salamon, with no small ioy to vs all; and there she had taken of Spaniards and Portugals 24 saile of ships and caravels, fishermen, and had taken out of them such necessaries as she had need of. Of these ships our captaine tooke four along with him, with another that he had taken himselfe, meaning to imploy them as occasion should serue. At this place he vnderstood of one of the pilots of those ships, that one of the caracks that came out of the East Indies was cast away in the rode of Fernambuc, and that all her goods were layd vpon the Arraçise, which is the lower towne. Of these newes we were all glad, and reioyced much; for our hopes were very good, seeing such a booty before vs.

Of this good company and happy successe we were all ioyful, and had great hope of the blessing of God in performance of our intended voyage; and so, after some parle and making frolike for ioy of our meeting one with the other (praising God for all), we plied for Maio: where, comming to anker, our generall and the rest of the captaines went ashore to view the place where we might in best safety set our gally-frigat together: which frame wee brought from England of purpose to land men in the country of Brasil. Here we discharged our great prize of wine, and set her on fire: but before our comming thither you shall vnderstand, we had sight of foure sailes, which was Captaine Venner, in his ship the Peregrine, and a proper Biskaine, which he tooke at Cape Blank; the Welcome of Plymouth, and her pinnesse: all of which stood with vs. But they

seeing our flags, not expecting such good fellowes as we did beare from vs all they might; which our people tooke very vnkindly, that being all friends, they would neither enquire nor tell vs any newes of our friends, but without making any shew of kindnes would so depart. As before, I haue said, the choice being made for the place to build the gally-frigat, ashore it was brought, where the carpenters applied their worke, still cheered vnto it by the general's good gifts bestowed among them, and kind vsage of the rest of the commanders, not without great care of the captaine for the safety of them all, by keeping good watch: yet one negligent fellow, which had no knowledge of the country, straying from his company, was by the Portugals taken, and very kindly vsed, and brought againe vnto vs: for which good the generall rewarded them well with gifts very acceptable, which they tooke as kindly. While wee were thus busily imployed about the foresayd galley, we descried at sea foure sailes, which we had good hope would haue prooued Indies men, or some to haue brought vs what wee looked for: but they proued Captaine Venner with his fleet, as aforesayd, who, seeing vs at anker, ankered also; where, spending some time, and being acquainted with our general's determination for landing, consorted with vs, and their bils, according to the maner of the sea, were made and signed on either part, we to haue three parts and he the fourth of all that should be taken, wherby our strength was increased, to all our comforts. Three weeks, or thereabouts, we stayd in this place, before the gally was finished; which done, putting men into her, and fitting her with oares, hauing fourteene banks on a side, a mast and saile, the commandement of her was committed vnto M. Wats, an honest skilfull mariner.

From thence we put again to sea, and went for the Ile of Braua, where we watered: which done, we made no long stay after, but bent our course as directly as we could for

the place, making our first fall with the land to the southward of Cape S. Augustine, from whence wee plied still to our desired port of Fernambuck, and did so much, that about midnight we came before the harbour;[1] where some plied vp and downe, holding that the best policy to forbeare the entring till day might giue them light, the harborow being hard, and, therefore, the more perillous. Our ships being in safety well arriued, God was praised; and the generall in his boat went from ship to ship, willing them to make ready such men as they could spare, with muskets, pikes, billes, bowes, arrowes, and what weapons they had to follow him. Himselfe, with 80 men from his owne ship, imbarked himselfe in the gally, which carried in her prow a good sacar, and two murdering pieces.

Our admiral spent all the night in giuing directions to euery ship to haue their men ready shipped in their boats, for he intended to enter the harborow at the breake of day, and to leaue his ships without till he had gotten the fort and the towne: for he would not aduenture the ships in, till the harborow was gotten. Also he prouided fiue ships, which he brought from Cape Blank, and put men in them as many as could conueniently saile them, and no more, giuing them charge to enter the harborow with his boats: for at the entrance of the harborow rode three great Holland ships, which our admirall doubted would impeach his going in; and, therefore, he gaue order to the men of these fiue small ships, which were not aboue 60 tunnes a piece, if the Hollanders did offer any resistance, to run aboord of them, and to set their owne ships on fire, and scape in their boats, which they had for the same purpose, that by this meanes they might not impeach our entrance. But when the morning was come, we were fallen aboue halfe a mile downe to the northward, below the harborow, which was a great inconuenience vnto vs; so that before we could

[1] Recife, the port of Pernambuco.

get vp agaiue, the ebbe was come vpon vs, and thereby we were forced to houer before the harborow till two of the clocke in the afternoone, in the sight of all the towne. In this meane time, our ships rode before the fort without the harborow, about a demy-coluering shot off: in the which time passed many shot betweene the fort and the ships, and especially betweene the admirals ship and them: but no great harm was doue on either part. All this while our admirall kept the men ready, houering iu the gally and the boats. The Hollanders that rode in the mouth of the harborow, seeing our resolution, layd out haulsers, and wound themselves out of the way of vs. Our admiral was very ioyfull, and gaue great incouragement to all his men: for to passe these three great Hollanders he held it the greatest danger of all. About 12 of the clocke the gouerner of the towne sent a Portugall aboord the admiralls ship, to know what he would haue, and wherefore he came. He returned him this answere: That he wanted the caracks goods; and for them he came, and them he would haue, and that he should shortly see. In this processe of time, the townesmen and inhabitants which saw so much shipping, and perceiued vs to be euemies, gathered themselues together, three or foure ensignes of men, esteemed to the number of some six hundred at the least. These came to the fort or plat-forme lying ouer against the entry of the harborow, and there attended our landing; but before our admirall set forward with his boats, he gave expresse order to all that had charge of gourning the boats or galley, to run them with such violence against the shore that they should be all cast away without recouery, and uot one man to stay in them, whereby our men might haue no mauner of retreat to trust vnto, but onely to God and their weapons.

Now was the time come of the flood, being about two of the clocke in the afternoone, when our admirall set forward, and entered the harborow with the small galley, and all the

rest of the boats followed him, the Hollanders that rode in the mouth of the harborow, nothing impeached him; but now the fort began to play with their ordinance vpon the galley and boats; and one of their shot tooke away a great piece of our ensigne out of the galley. But our saile being set, it was no time for vs to make any stay; but with all the force we could we ranne the galley vpon the shore right vnder the fort, within a coits cast of it, with such violence that we brake her backe, and she suncke presently; for there where we landed, went a breach of the sea, which presently cast her away. The boats comming after did the like. At our arriuall, those in the fort had laden all their ordinance, being seuen pieces of brasse, to discharge them vpon vs at our landing; which, indeed, they did: for our admirall leaping into the water, all the rest following him, off came these pieces of ordinance; but, almighty God be praised, they in the fort, with feare to see vs land in their faces, had piked their ordinance so steepe downwards with their mouths, that they shot all their shot in the sand, although, as I sayd before, it was not aboue a coits cast at the most betweene the place wee landed and the face of the fort; so that they onely shot off one of our men's armes without doing any more hurt, which was to vs a great blessing of God: for if those ordinances had bene well levelled, a great number of vs had lost our liues at that instant. Our admirall seeing this, cried out, incouraging his men, Upon them, vpon them; all (by God's help) is ours: and they therewith ran to the fort with all violence. Those foure ensigns of men that were set to defend our landing, seeing this resolution, began to go backe, and retire into certaine bushes that were by the same fort; and being followed, fledde thorowe a certaine oaze which was drie, being then but the beginning of the tide: and so abandoned the fort, and left it with their ordinance to vs. This day of our arriuall was their Good-friday, when by custome they

vsually whippe themselues: but God sent vs now for a generall scourge to them all, whereby that labour among them might be well spared. The fort being taken with all their ordinance, the admirall waved to the ships, willing them to wey and come in; which they did with all speed, himselfe taking order in leauing certaine men in keeping the said fort, and placed the ordinance toward the high towne,[1] from whence he suspected the greatest danger; and putting his men in order, marched toward the low towne,[2] which was about foureteene score from the fort: in which town lay all their merchandize and other goods. Approaching to the towne, he entered the same, the people imbarking themselues in carauels and boats, with all the expedition they could. The base towne, of aboue an hundred houses, being thus taken, we found in it great store of merchandizes of all sorts: as Brasil wood, sugars, calico-cloth, pepper, cynamon, cloues, mase, nutmegs, with diuers other good things, to the great comfort of vs all. The admirall went vp and downe the towne, and placed at the south end of the same Captaine Venner and his companion, himselfe and his company in the midst of the towne, and Captaine Barker and Captaine Addy at the other end of the towne, giving great charge that no man, vpon paine of great punishment and losse of his shares, should breake vp or enter into any ware-house without order and direction from the admirall. And this commandement was as well kept as euer any was kept, where so great spoile and booty was found: for it was not knowen in all the time of our being there, that any disorder was committed, or any lodge or ware-house broken open, or any spoile was made, or pillaging of anything; which is a note much to be observed in such an action; for common mariners and souldiers are much given to pillaging and spoiling, making greater account of the same than of their shares.

Order being put in all things, we kept a very sure watch

[1] Olinda

[2] Recife.

this first night, and the morning being come, our admirall and Captaine Venner, with the rest of the captaines, went about the towne, and gaue order for the fortifying of it with all expedition: so that within two dayes it was surrounded with posts and planks, all that part of the towne next the maine land, at least nine foot high; for (God be thanked) we found prouision in the towne, sufficient store for it. Now it is to be vnderstood that this towne is enuironed on the one part by the sea, and on the backside by a riuer that runneth behinde it; so that to come to it by land, you must enter it by a small narrow passage, not aboue forty paces ouer at an high water. At this passage we built a fort, and planted in it fiue pieces of ordinance, which we tooke out of the first fort we wan at our comming into the harborow. Now we hauing the towne in possession, our admirall sent for the Hollanders by his chyrurgian, which had been brought vp in that countrey, a man knowing their conditions, and sober and discreet of his owne cariage. At his first comming aboord of them, they seemed to stand vpon their owne guard and defence, for they were three great and strong ships: but he vsed himself so that they at the last willed him to come into the greatest of their ships, which was aboue 450 tunnes. Then he declared to them our intent of comming thither, and that they should be there as sure from any show of violence or iniury offered them, as if they were in their owne houses, and if they should thinke so good, his admirall would fraight thē for England, if they would be content with fraight reasonable, and as they should agree, and it should be at their own choise whither to go or not, he would not force them, unless it was to their benefit and good liking. Although this people were somewhat stubburne at the first, as that nation is in these causes, yet being satisfied with good words and good dealing they came aland, and after conference had with the admiralls, they were so satisfied that they went

thorow with a fraight, and then we ioyed with them, and they with vs, and they serued vs as truly and as faithfully as our owne people did, both at watch and ward, by sea and other services. Within two dayes after our comming in, about midnight, a great number of Portugals and Indians with them, came downe vpon vs with a very great cry and noise; but God be thanked, we were ready for them: for our admirall supposing some such assault, had prouided all our muskets with haile-shot, which did so gaule both the Indians and the Portugalls, that they made them presently retreat. And this is to be noted that there was both the horse and his rider slaine, both with one of these shot. Our men followed them some fiue or six score, but no further. We lost in this conflict but onely one man, but had diuers hurt. What was lost of their part we could not tell, for they had before day, after our retreat, caried away all their dead. Within three or foure days after our comming in, appeared before the harborow 3 ships and 2 pinnesses, the pinnesses being somewhat nere, discried our flags, and one of them came in, which was a French pinnesse, declaring all the rest to be French bottoms, which our admirall willed should come in: and so they did. These were Frenchmen of war, and came thither for purchase. The captaines came aland, and were welcomed; amongst whom was one, Captaine John Noyer, of Diepe, that the yere before had taken in our admirall at the Iland of Mona,[1] in the West Indies, where his ship was cast away comming out of the East Indies. To this man our admirall offered great kindnes, and performed it, and was not vngratefull for his former benefit shewed vnto him. This captain desired of our admirall to bestow upon him his ships lading of Fernambuc-wood,[2] which he granted him, and also his pinnesse, and more, gaue him a carauel of about 50 tuns, and bid him lade her with wood also; which with other benefits he gratefully

[1] See page 20.

[2] Brazil wood.

received. To the other two captaines he granted their ladings of wood, the one captaine being of Diepe, the other of Rochel. The captaine of Diepe confessed that he met Abraham Cocke certain moneths before, and being distressed for want of water, gaue him some, and went with him to a watering place where he had water enough, and so departed frō him, saying that his men were very weake. The comming in of these ships did much strengthen vs; for our admiral appointed both these French and the Flemings to keepe watch vpon the riuer by night with their boats, euery boat having in her 12 men at the least, and the boats well prouided. This was for feare of fired ships or barkes to come downe, which our admirall had great care vnto, and caused our ships to ride by cables and haulsers, at all aduantages to shun them, if by that meanes they should attempt to put vs out of the harborow; giuing commandement to vs that watched in the towne, that what fires soeuer we should espy or see, not one man to start from his watch or quarter, vnlesse we were by himselfe commanded to the contrary. Now this order put in all things, and hauing viewed all the goods in the towne, and thinking ourselues sufficiently fortified, we began to vnlade our ships, which came as full laden in as they went foorth, but not with so good merchandize. And this order was taken about the vnlading of them, and also the lading of goods out of the towne; our men were diuided into halues, and the one halfe wrought one day, and the other halfe the other day; alwayes those that wrought not kept the watch with their furniture in their hands and about them, and none stept far off or wandered from his colours, and those that wrought had all their weapons in good order set and placed by them, so that at an instant euery one knew where to go to his furniture; and this was carefully looked vnto.

The third day after our comming in, came down from the higher towne, which might be about foure miles off, vpon a

hill, three or foure of the principall gentlemen of the countrey, and said that from the bishop, themselves, and the rest, they would haue some conference with our admirall. This newes being brought to the admirall, he hung downe his head for a small season; and when he had muzed a while, he answered, I must go aboord of the Flemings vpon busines that importeth me, and therefore let them stay if they will: and so he went and sate there with the Flemings from nine of the clocke till two at the afternoone. In this space, diuers messengers went to the admirall, to come away; for these gentlemen stayd. To whom he gaue this answere: Are they not gone yet? And about two of the clocke he came aland, and then they tolde him they were departed. Many of the better sort of our men maruelled, and thought much, because he would not vouchsafe to come and haue conference with such men of account as they seemed to be. But the admiral made them this answere: Sirs, I haue bene brought vp among this people; I haue liued among them as a gentleman, serued with them as a souldier, and liued among them as a merchant, so that I should haue some vnderstanding of their demeanors and nature; and I know when they cannot preuaile with the sword by force, then they deale with their deceiueable tongues; for faith and trueth they haue none, neither will vse any, vnlesse it be to their owne aduantage. And this I giue you warning, that if you giue them parle, they will betray vs; and for my part, of all nations in the world, it would grieue me most to be ouertaken by this nation and the Spaniards: and I am glad it was my fortune to pay them with one of their owne fetches, for I warrant you they vnderstand me better then you thinke they do. And with this I pray you be satisfied; I hope it is all for your goods: for what shall we gaine by parle, when (by the helpe of God) we haue gotten already that we came for, should we venture that we haue gottē with our swords, to see if they can take it from vs by words and

policy? there were no wisdome in so doing. You know what it hath cost us, and how many men lie wounded that be not yet hole of this other nights hurts; and, therefore, from henceforth I giue you this commission, that if any be taken he be sent away with this order,—although he come as a friend, that if either he or any other approach vs from henceforth, he shall be hanged out of hand: and other course than this I will not take with them. Which course was followed, for within 3 or 4 dayes after it was performed by two taken in the night; and after that we were neuer troubled with spies; and although diuers slaues came running from their men to vs, by which we vnderstood much of their working and pretences, yet the admirall would enterteine few of them.

In this meane time that we began to worke, the Portugals with the country people were not idle, for seeing vs so busie about sixe nights after our comming in, they priuily in the night cast vp a trench in the sands about a sacar shot from our ships, minding there to plant ordinance, which would haue offended our ships greatly; and they would not haue bene able to haue rode there to take in their lading, which now began to go aboord of them. The admirall hearing this, about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone marshalled our men, and he and all the rest of the captaines marched toward them. The Portugals and Indians perceiuing our comming, began to withdraw themselues within the trench, meaning (as it should appeare) to fight it out there; but we made no stand, neither did it behoue vs, but presently approached the trenches with our muskets and pikes, afore their trenches were thorowly finished: so that, by God's helpe, we entered thē, and the Portugals and Indians left the place, and left vnto vs 4 good peeces of brasse ordinance, with powder and shot, and diuers other necessaries, and among the rest 5 smal carts of that countrey, which to us were more worth than

al the rest we tooke, for the lading of our goods from the towne to the waterside: for without them we could not have told what to haue done, much of our goods being so heauie, that without carts we were not able to weyld them: all these things we brought away and destroyed at those platforms that they had made, and then we had rest with them for certaine dayes, in which we went forward, deuiding our marchandize with Captaine Venner, according to our consort, and went daily lading them aboord, euery ships company according as their turnes fell out, but only the three Dutch ships, for the goods being put into their boats their owne companies laded themselues. And this farther good chance or blessing of God we had to helpe vs, that assoone as we had taken our cartes, the next morning came in a ship with some 60 negros, 10 Portugall women, and 40 Portugals: the women and the negros we turned out of the towne, but the Portugals our admiral kept to draw the carts when they were laden, which to vs was a very great ease. For the countrey is very hote and ill for nation to take any great trauell in.

In this towne there is no fresh water to be had, and, therefore, we were euery 5 or 6 dayes compelled to passe ouer the riuer into the maine land to get fresh water, which, after the first or second time, the Portugals kept and would haue defended our watering, so that we were driuen to water of force, and at seuerall times some of our men were hurt, and onely two or three slaine, and with this danger we were forced to get our water.

And as they molested vs in our watering, so they slept not in other deuises, but put in practise to burne our ships or remoue them out of the harbour. For within some 20 dayes after our comming in, they had prepared 5 carauels, and filled them with such things as would best take fire and burne: these they brought within a mile or little more of our ships, and there set them on fire, for neerer they could

not well come because of our watch of boates, for, as is aboue said, the admirall had alwaies 6 boates that kept watch aboue halfe a mile from the ships for feare of such exploytes as these, which was the cause they could not fire them so neere the ships as they would have done. But these fired carauels had the tide with them, and also the little winde that blewe was in their fauovr, which caused them to come downe the streame the faster; which our boats perceiuing made to them with as much expedition as conueniently they could, but the tide and wind both seruing them, they approched toward the ships with great expedition. Our men in the towne began to be in some feare of them, yet no man mooued or started frō his quarter more than if there had bene nothing to doe. Also the masters, and such as were aboord, were somewhat amased to see 5 great fires to be comming downe among their ships, but they prepared for to cleere them of it, as well as they could, being prouided afore hande and iudging that some such stratagems would be there vsed, the riuer being very fit therefore. But (God be thanked) who was alwaies with vs and our best defence in this voyage, by whose assistance we performed this so great an attempt with so small forces, our companie in the boats so played the men when they saw the fires come neere our ships, that casting grapnels with yron chaines on them, as euery boat had one for that purpose, some they towed aground, and some they brought to a bitter or anker, where they rode till all their force was burned out, and so we were deliuered, by Gods helpe, from this fearefull danger. Within some 6 nights after this, which might be about the 26 day after our comming in and abode there, about 11 of the clocke at night, came driuing downe other 3 great raftes burning with the hugest fires that I haue seene. These were exceeding dangerous, for when our men approched thē, thinking to clap their grapnels vpon them, as they had done vpon the carauels the night before,

they were preuented: for there stooke out of the rafts many poles which kept them from the body of the rafts, that they could not come to throw their grapnels into thē: and yet they had this inconuenience worse then al the rest which most troubled vs. There stooke out among the poles certaine hollow trunks filled with such prouision of fire-workes that they ceased not still (as the fire came downe to those trunks to set thē on fire) to spout out such sparkles, that our boats hauing powder in them for our mens vse, durst not for feare of frying thēselues with their owne powder come neerer those sparkles of the raftes, but seeing them to driue neerer and neerer our ships, they wet certaine clothes and laid vpon their flaskes and bandelers and so ventured vpon them, and with their grapnels tooke holde of them, and so towed them on ground, where they stooke fast and were not burnt out the next day in the morning. Diuerse logs and timbers came driuing along by our ships, and burning, but with our boats we easily defended them. And thus (God be praised) we escaped the second fires. A third firing was prepared, as a Negro gave vs to vnderstand, but this we preuented by our departure. For this third firing were very great preparations: and we were credibly informed of certainetie, that this firing should be such as we should neuer be able to preuent, and assuredly these fires be dangerous things, and not to be prevented vpon a sudden, vnlesse it be afore prepared for and foreseene. For when it commeth vpon the sudden and vnlooked for, and unprouided for, it bringeth men into a great amazement and at their wits end. And, therefore, let all men riding in riuers in their enemies countrey be sure to looke to be prouided before hand, for against fire there is no resistance without preparation.

Also it is a practise in these hot countreys, where there be such expert swimmers, to cut the cables of ships: and one night it was practised to cut the admiral's cable, and yet the boate rode by the cable with two men in her to

watch all the night, and the buoy onely was cut, but not the cable: but after that night, seeing then our good watch. they neuer after attempted it.

While all these things passed, our ships (God be thanked) thorow the industry of our gouernours, and diligent labour of our men, began to be wholly laden, and all the best marchandize conueyed aboord our ships, so that our admirall ment to depart that night, which was the 31 day after our entrance, or else on the next day at the farthest, and so warning was giuen to all men to make themselves readie. Our admiral being aboord his ship ye same morning, espyed in the sands right against the place where the ships rode, that there was a small bank of sand newly cast vp, vnder which he perceiued now and then some people to be: presently he tooke his boat and went to the towne, and called the captaines together, declaring that the enemies were about some pretence right against the ships, consulting whether it were best to sally out and see what they were doing, or depart that euening according to the former determination. The admirall was of opinion to depart that night, saying it was but folly to seeke warres, since we had no neede to doe it: other affirmed, it were good to see what they did, least the winde might be contrarie and the ships not got out, and so our enemies may build vpon vs to our great disaduantage. 'Well,' said the admiral, 'the matter is not great, for there can be no danger in this sally; for where they worke it is within falkon-shot of the ships, and if any power should come against you, the ships may play vpon them with 40 peeces of ordinance at the least, so that a bird cannot passe there but she must be slaine. I am somewhat vnwilling you should go; for I haue not bene well these two dayes, and I am not strong to march vpon these heauie sands:' they answered all at once, 'you shall not neede to trouble your selfe for this seruice, for you see it is nothing and of no danger, being so neere the ships, doubt you not

we will accomplish this seruice well ynough, and returne againe within this houre.' The admirall answered: 'the danger cannot be great, but yet you shall go out strong, for feare of the worst.' And so the admirall marshalled them, 275 men, French and English, which were vnder the conduct of Edmund Barker, Captaine Barker of Plimmouth, Viceadmirall to Captaine Venner, Captaine Addy, and the three French captaines, all going out together, and they were to march vpon a narrow peece of ground to the place whether they were sent vnto: in the brodest place betwixt the sea and the water on the other side, it is not aboue a stone cast, for it is a bank of sand lying betweene the riuer and the sea, so they needed not to feare any comming on their backs or on their sides, and before them could no man come, but he must passe by all the ships which no company of men were able to do without present death. The admirall commanded them at their departure to go no further then the place he sent them to, and so he himselfe went aboord the ships and made readie all the ordinance for feare of the worst, not knowing what might insue, although he saw no danger might follow. Thus we marched quietly till we came to the place we were sent vnto, being right ouer against the ships: out of which place came some dozen shot, which seeing vs come, discharged and ran their wayes with such as were working within the said platforme. So that we came into it and perceiued they had begunne to lay plankes to plant ordinance vpon. Our admirall commanded, if there were any such thing, to burne the plankes and returne in againe, which we might have done without hurting of any man's finger: but our leaders were not content to haue performed the seruice committed them in charge, but would needes expresly and against their order march on further to fight with certaine ensignes almost a mile off, cleane out of the reach of the ordinance of all our ships, and where lay the strength of the whole countrey. When our

men began to draw neere those ensigns of men, the ensignes seemed to retire with great speed, which our men followed with such great hast, that some outrunning other some, our order was broken, and those ensignes retyred thēselues into the force of the whole countrey, so that our formost men were in the midst of their enemies yer they were aware, which were slaine yer the rest could come to succour them. The enemies, incouraged by this, came also vpon the rest, which presently began to retire, and the enemies followed them til they came within the reach of the ordinance of our ships, where they were beaten off and left their pursuit. In this conflict were slaine Captain Barker, captaine of the Salomon; Captaine Cotton, y[e] admiral's Lieutenant; Captaine John Noyer, a French captaine of Diepe, and another French captaine of Rochel, with M. John Barker and other, to the number of 35: for these were the foremost and hottest in the pursuit of the ensignes aforesaid, and by their forwardnes came all to perish. At our returne into the towne the admiral came to vs much bewayling the death of so many good men as were lost, wondering what we ment to passe the exprese order that was giuen vs. With this losse our men were much danted, but our admirall began againe to encourage them, declaring that the fortune of the warres was sometimes to win and sometimes to loose. And therewithall he wished euery man to prepare and make himselfe readie: for that night (God willing) he would depart. For all our ships were readie and laden, and he would not stay any further fortune. The euening being come, the ships began to wey and go forth of the harbour, and God be thanked of his goodnesse toward vs who sent vs a faire wind to go foorth withall, so that by 11 of the clocke in the night, we were all forth in safety. The enemies perceiuing our departing, planted a peece or two of ordinance, and shot at vs in the night, but did vs no harme. We were at our comming foorth 15 sailes, that is, 3 sailes of Hollanders,

the one of 450 tunnes, the other of 350 tunnes, and the third of 300 tunnes, foure sailes of French and one ship which the admiral gave the French captaine, 3 sailes of Captain Venner's fleet of Plimmouth, and 4 sailes of our admiral's fleete, all these were laden with marchandizes, and that of good worth. We stayed in this harbour to passe all this businesse but onely 31 dayes, and in this time we were occupied with skirmishes and attempts of the enemie 11 times; in all which skirmishing we had the better, only this last excepted. To God be the honour and praise of all, &c. The whole fleete being out in safety, the next day in the morning the admirall gave order to the whole fleete to saile toward Peraniew, a harbour lying some 40 leagues to the northward of Fernambucke, and there to take in fresh water and to refresh themselues: and to make prouision for refreshing, our admirall had sent thither some 6 daies before two Frenchmen in a smal pinnesse, which Frenchmen he had prouided from Diepe before his comming out of England for that purpose. For both these two spake the Indian's language very perfectly: for at this port of Peraniew and another called Potaju, some 6 leagues to the northward, the Frenchmen haue had trade for brasil-wood, and haue laden from thence by the Indians' meanes, who have fet it for them some 20 leagues into the country vpon their backs, 3 or 4 ships euery yere. Thus we all sailed toward Peraniew, at which place we arriued in the night, so that we were forced to lie off and on with a stiffe gale of wind, in which we lost the most part of our fleete, and they not knowing this coast put off to the sea, and so went directly for England. Our admirall and some 4 saile more with him put into the harborow of Peraniew, and there watered and refreshed himselfe very well, with hens, conies, hares, and potatos, with other things, which the two Frenchmen had partly prouided before his comming: this is a very good harborow, where ships may ride and refresh very well.

But, as I am giuen to vnderstand since our comming from thence, the Portugals haue attempted the place and doe inhabite it, and haue put the French from their accustomed trade. Here hauing watered and refreshed our selues, we put to the sea, plying after the rest of our fleete which were gone before, which we neuer heard of till our arriuall in England at the Downes in the moneth of July, where we vnderstood the rest of our consorts to be passed vp for London, Captaine Venner and his fleete to be at Plimmouth, and the French ships to be safe arriued at Diepe, which to vs was very great comfort. At our setting sayle from the Downes, according as the custome is, finding the Queene's ships there we saluted them with certaine ordinance. The gunner being carlesse, as they are many times of their powder, in discharging certaine pieces in ye gunner roome, set a barrel of powder on fire, which tooke fire in ye gunner roome, blew vp the admiral's caben, slew the gunner with 2 others outright, and hurt 20 more, of which 4 or 5 died. This powder made such a smoke in the ship with the fire that burnt in the gunner roome among all the fire workes, that no man at the first wist what to doe: but recalling back their feare they began to cast water into the gunner roome in such abundance (for the Queene's ships now and and also the other ships that were in our company came presently to our helpe) that (God be praised) we put out the fire and saued all, and no great harme was done to the goods. By this may be seene that there is no sure safety of things in this world. For now we made account to be out of all danger, where behold a greater came upon vs than we suffered all the whole voyage. But the Almightie be praysed for ever, which deliuered vs out of this and many other in this voyage. Our fire being well put out, and we taking in fresh men (God be praysed), we came to Blackewall in safety.

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(NOW KNIGHT),

FOR THE MERCHANTS OF LONDON, ANNO 1600,

WITH FOURE TALL SHIPS, (TO WIT) THE HECTOR, THE ASCENSION, AND SUSAN, AND A VICTUALLER CALLED THE GUEST.

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§ I.

The preparation to this Voyage, and what befell them in the way till they departed from Saldania.

THE merchants of London, in the yeare of our Lord 1600, ioyned together and made a stocke of seventie-two thousand pounds, to bee imployed in ships and merchantdizes, for the discovery of a trade in the East India, to bring into this realme spices and other commodities. They bought foure great ships to be imployed in this voyage: the Dragon, of the burthen of six hundred tunne; the Hector, of the burthen of three hundred tunnes; the Ascention, of the burthen of two hundred and three score tunnes. These ships they furnished with men, victuals, and munition for twentie monethes, and sent in them, in merchandise and Spanish money, to the value of seven and twentie thousand pounds: all the rest of their stocke was spent and consumed about the shippes and other necessaries appertayning to them, with money lent to the mariners and saylers beforehand that went upon the voyage.

The merchants were suters to her Maiestie, who gave them her friendly letters of commendation, written to divers

princes of India, offering to enter into a league of peace and amitie with them, the copies of which letters shall hereafter appeare in their places. And because no great action can be well carryed and accomplished without an absolute authoritie of justice, shee granted to the generall of their fleet, Master James Lancaster, for his better command and gouvernment, a commission of martiall law.

The said Master James Lancaster the generall was placed in the Dragon, the greatest shippe, being admirall; Master John Middleton captaine in the Hector, the vice-admirall; Master William Brand chiefe gouvernour in the Ascention; and Master John Heyward in the Susan; and more in every of the said ships; three merchants to succeed one the other, if any of them should be taken away by death.

These ships were readie and departed from Wolwich in the River of Thames, the thirteenth of February after the English accompt, 1600, with foure hundred and fourescore men in them: In the Dragon, two hundred and two men; in the Hector, an hundred and eight; in the Ascention, fourescore and two: and in the Susan, fourescore and eight. The Guest, a ship of a hundred and thirtie tunnes, was added as a victualler. These ships stayed so long in the River of Thames, and in the Downes for want of wind,[1]

[1] The following letter from Captain Lancaster, written at the Downs before reaching Plymouth, is preserved in the British Museum (*Add. MSS.*, 1873, fol. 53).

"Mr. Skynner, my very hartye commendatyons, etc. I dyd, in my last letter I rote you, make acompt not to haue trobled you this yere or too, but the contrraye winds haith so sterd me vppon this cost of Englande, that I cannot prosede vppon this Est Indea vyage wch I have vndertaken, as yt, but here abydc attendant at Gods plesure, to prosede when wynde & wether shall permyt, wch vyage God graunt maye be to his glorye, & the benefyt of ou^r^ countre and common welth. S^r^, according to yor accostomed order, I praye you pase to the brynger hereof, Mr. John or Mr. Josefe Jacson, yor warraunt for the twelfe pounds tenne shillings, dwe to me out of her Majestyes excheker at ou^r^ Ladye Daye last past; for ether of thes ii men haue poure by a letter of atorney

that it was Easter-day before they arrived at Dartmouth, where they spent five or sixe dayes in taking in their bread and certaine other provisions appointed for them. From thence they departed the eighteenth of April 1601, and road in Tor Bay till the twentieth in the morning. While wee roade there, the generall sent aboord all the shippes instructions for their better company keeping, at their comming to the seas; and further gave directions, if any of the fleet should bee separated the one from the other by stormes of wind, tempests, or other casualties, what places[1] to repair unto for their meeting together again. The second of Aprill, 1601, the wind came faire and we hoysed our anchors, and departed out of Tor Bay, directing our course towards the Ilands of Canaria. The wind holding faire, the fift of May in the morning we had a sight of Alegranza, the northermost iland of the Canarias, and directed our course betweene Forteventura and the Grand Canaria; and coming to the south part of the Grand Canaria, thinking to water there, wee fell into the calmes, which proceed by reason of the high-land that lyeth so neere the sea-side.

The seventh of May, about three of the clocke in the afternoone, we departed from the Grand Canaria, having

from me, for the resete of soche rentes and dettes as are dwe to me in my absence.

Thus hopinge, accordinge to yor acostomed kyndnese you will acomplysh my request herein, I compt you to the protectyone of the allmyghttye, who sende you his blessinge: and me his grase to serue him in this my pretended vyage. Ffrom the Dowens, abord the Red Dragon, this fyrst Apryell, 1601."

Yo^r^ worshipes to
"vse James Lancaster."

"To the worshipfull Mr.
Skynner, of her Magestyes
Excheker dd' this—"

[1] These places were the Calmes of Canarie, and if weakness permitted not to double the Cape, Saldania, the third Cape Saint Roman in Madagasgar, to Cirne, and so to Sumatra, their first place of trade. May the fift.

the wind at north-east, and we directed our course south-west by south and south south-west till we came into 21½ degrees. From the eleventh to the twentieth, our course was for the most part south, till we came into eight degrees, the wind being alwayes northerly and north-east. In this height we found the calmes and contrarie winds, which upon this coast of Ginncy, at this time of the yeare, are very familiar with many sudden gustes of wind, stormes, thunder and lightening, very fearefull to be seene and dangerous to the shippes, unless a diligent care be had that all sayles be stricken downe upon the sudden, perceiving the ayre never so little to change or alter. And yet many times, although the masters of ships were carefull, and looked unto it with great diligence, the suddennesse was such that it could hardly be prevented. From the twentieth of May till the one and twentieth of June wee lay the most part becalmed, and with contrarie winds at south; and turning up and downe with this contrary wind, with much adoe we got into two degrees of the north side of the line, where wee espyed a ship, to the which the generall gave chase, commanding all the rest of the ships to follow him, and by two of the clocke in the afternoone, we had set her up and tooke her. She was of the citie of Viana in Portugall, and came from Lisbone in the companie of two carrackes and three gallions bound for the East India, which ships she had lost at sea. The three gallions were ships of warre, and went to keep the coast of the East India from being traded with other nations.

We tooke out of her an hundred sixe and fortie buts of wine, an hundred threescore and sixteene jarres of oyle, twelve barrels of oyle, and five and fiftie hogsheads and fats of meale, which was a great help to us in the whole voyage after. The generall divided these victualls indifferently to all the ships, to every one his proportion without partialitie.

The last of June, about midnight, we doubled the Line,

and lost sight of the north star, having the wind at south-east, and we held our course south south-west, and doubled the Cape of Saint Augustine some sixe and twentie leagues to the eastwards. The twentieth of July we were shot into nineteen degrees, fortie minutes to the southward of the Line, the wind inlarging daily to the eastward. Here wee discharged the Guest, the ship that went along with us to carry the provisions that our foure ships could not take in in England. After we had discharged her, we took her masts, sayles and yards, and broke downe her higher buildings for fire-wood, and so left her floting in the sea, and followed our course to the southward. The foure and twentieth of July we passed the tropic of Capricorne, the wind being north-east by north, we holding our course east south-east. Now, by reason of our long being under the Line (which proceeded of our late comming out of England, for the time of the yeare was too farre spent by six or seven weekes to make a quicke navigation) many of our men fell sicke. Therefore, the nine and twentieth of July, being in 28½ degrees, hee wrote a remembrance to the gouernour of each ship, either to fetch Saldania or Saint Helena for refreshing.

Thus following on our course, the first of August we came into the height of thirtie degrees south of the line, at which time we met the south-west wind, to the great comfort of all our people. For, by this time, very many of our men were fallen sicke of the scurvy in all our ships, and unless it were in the general's ship only, the other three were so weake of men that they could hardly handle the sayles. This wind held faire till wee came within two hundred and fiftie leagues of the Cape Buena Esperanza, and then came cleane contrarie against us to the east, and so held some fifteene or sixteene dayes, to the great discomfort of our men. For now the few whole men we had beganne also to fall sicke, so that our weaknesse of men was so great that

in some of the ships the merchants took their turnes at the helme, and went into the top to take in the top sayles, as the common mariners did. But God (who sheweth mercy in all distresses) sent vs a faire wind againe, so that the ninth of September wee came to Saldania,[1] where the generall before the rest bare in, and came to an anchor, and hoysed out his boats to helpe the reste of the ships. For now the state of the other three was such that they were hardly able to let fall an anchor, to save themselves withall. The generall went aboord of them, and carried store of men, and hoysed out their boats for them, which they were not able to doe of themselves. And the reason why the generals men stood better in health than the men of other ships was this: he brought to sea with him certaine bottles of the juice of limons, which he gave to each one as long as it would last, three spoonfuls every morning fasting, not suffering them to eate anything after it till noone. This juice worketh much the better if the partie keepe a short dyet, and wholly refraine salt meat, which salt meat and long being at the sea is the only cause of the breeding of this disease. By this meanes the generall cured many of his men, and preserved the rest, so that in his ship (having the double of men that was in the rest of the ships) he had not so many sicke, nor lost so many men as they did, which was the mercie of God to vs all. After the generall had holpen the rest of the ships to hoys out their boats they began all to be greatly comforted. Then he himselfe went presently a-land to seeke some refreshing for our sicke and weake men, where hee met with certaine of the countrey people, and gave them diuers trifles, as knives and peeces of old iron

[1] See page 3 (*n.*). The Saldanha Bay of modern geographers is a misnomer. The Saldanha Bay of De Barros and the early English and Dutch Navigators, is our Table Bay. Sir Henry Middleton's fleet also put in here in 1604. (See note by Mr. Bolton Corney at page 7 of the Voyage of Sir H. Middleton.)

and such like, and made signes to them to bring him downe sheepe and oxen. For he spake to them in the cattels language, which was never changed at the confusion of Babell, which was "moath" for oxen and kine, and "baa" for sheepe, which language the people vnderstood very well without any interpreter. After he had sent the people away very well contented with their presents, and kind vsage, order was presently given that certaine of every ships companie should bring their sayles a-land, and build tents with them for their sicke men; and also to make fortifications of defence, if by any occasion the people should take any conceit of offence against vs, and thereby offer vs any violence.

And the generall prescribed an order for buying and selling with the people, which was, that at such times as they should come downe with the cattell, only five or six men, appointed for that purpose, should goe to deale with them, and the rest (which should neuer bee vnder thirtie muskets and pikes) should not come neere the market, by eight or ten score at the nearest; and alwayes to stand in their ranke in a readiness, with their muskets in their rests, what occasion soeuer should befall. And this order was most strictly obserued and kept, that no man durst once goe to speake with any of the people without speciall leaue, and I take this to be the cause why we liued in so great friendship and amitie with them, contrary to that which lately had befallen the Hollanders, which had fiue or six of their men slaine by their treacherie.

The third day after our comming into this Bay of Saldania, the people brought downe beefes and muttons, which we bought of them for pieces of old iron hoopes, as two pieces of eight inches a piece for an oxe, and one piece of eight inches for a sheepe, with which they seemed to be well contented. Within ten or twelve dayes we bought of them a thousand sheepe and two and fortie oxen, and might

have bought many more if wee would. Now, within twelve days they ceased to bring us any more cattell, but the people many times came downe to vs afterward, and when we made them signes for more sheepe, they would point vs to those wee had bought, which the generall caused to be kept grazing vpon the hilles about our tents, and was the cause (as we iudged) they thought we would have inhabited there, and therefore brought vs no more. But (God be thanked) we were well stored to satisfie our need, and might then very well forbeare buying. These oxen are full as bigge as ours, and were very fat, and the sheepe many of them much bigger, but of a very hairie wooll, yet of exceeding good flesh, fat and sweet, and, to our thinking, much better than our sheepe in England. The people of this place are all of a tawnie colour, of a reasonable stature, swift of foot, and much giuen to picke and steale; their speech is wholly uttered through the throate, and they clocke with their tongues in such sort, that in seven weekes which we remained heere in this place, the sharpest wit among us could not learne one word of their language; and yet the people would soone vnderstand any signe we made to them.

While wee stayed heere in this bay, wee had so royall refreshing that all our men recouered their health and strength, onely foure or fiue excepted. But before our comming in, and in this place, wee lost out of all our ships one hundred and fiue men, and yet wee made account we were stronger at our departure out of this bay then wee were at our comming out of England, our men were so well inured to the southerne climates.

§ II.

Their departure from Saldania, and proceeding in their Voyage to Achen in Sumatra, with their trading at Saint Maries, Antongil, Nicubar: the strange plant of Sombrero, and other occurrents.

The foure and twentieth of October, the generall caused all our tents to be taken downe and our men to repair aboord the ships; and being fitted both of wood and fresh water, the nine and twentieth of October, wee put to sea, and went out by a small iland[1] that lieth in the mouth of the said bay, which is exceeding full of seales and pengwines, so that if there were no other refreshing, one might very well refresh there. Ouer the Bay of Saldania standeth a very high hill, flat like a table, and is called the Table;[2] such another plaine marke to find an harbour in is not in all that coast, for it is easie to be seene seuenteen or eighteen leagues into the Sea. Sunday, the first of Nouember, in the morning, we doubled the Cape of Buena Esperança, hauing the wind west north west a great gale.

The sixe and twentieth of Nouember wee fell with the head-land of the Iland of Saint Laurence,[3] somewhat to the east of Cape Sebastian, and being within five miles of the shoare, we sounded, and found twenty fiue fathome; the variation of the compasse being little more or lesse sixteen degrees.[4] For in an east and west course the variation of the compasse helpeth much, and especially in this voyage.

From the sixe and twentieth of Nouember till the fifteenth of December wee plyed to the eastward, the neerest our course wee could lie, always striuing to haue gotten to the Iland of Cirne, which in some cardes is called Diego

[1] See Bolton Corney's Voyage of Sir H. Middleton, page 9. This island is seven miles N.N.W. of Cape Town, and now appears on our charts as Robben Island (from the Dutch *rob*, a seal).

[2] The Table Mountain.

[3] Madagascar.

[4] At Mauritius the variation of the compass was 11° 42′ W. in 1805, 16° 40′ W. in 1813, 11° 18′ W. in 1836, and 9° 45′ W. in 1858.

Rodriques, but wee found the wind alwaies, after our comming to the Iland of Saint Laurence, at east and east south-east and east north-east, so that we could not obtaine it: and to strive long in hope of change of windes wee could not, for now our men began againe to fall sicke of the scuruy. Then the captaine of the Vice-amirall called to the generall and thought it best to beare into the Bay of Antongil, and there to refresh our men with oranges and limons, to cleere our selves of this disease, which was by him and the whole counsell called for that purpose well approoued.

The seuenteenth of December, wee had sight of the southermost part of the Iland of Saint Mary,[1] and the next day wee anchored betweene Saint Mary and the great Iland of Saint Laurence, and sent our boats aland to Saint Mary, where wee had some store of limons and oranges, which were precious for our diseased men, to purge their bodies of the scuruy. Now, as we roade heere, buying oranges and limons, there arose vpon vs a very great storme, so that three of our ships were put from their anchres: but within some sixteen houres the storme ceased, and the ships returned and weighed their anchors againe. The generall thought it not good to make any longer stay there, seeing the uncertaintie of the weather, and that there was vpon this iland so little refreshing to be had, only these oranges and limons, a little goates milke, and some small quantitie of rice; we saw only one cow, and that they draue away as soone as they saw vs come on land. Seeing this place so dangerous to ride in, the generall gaue present order to sayle toward the Bay of Antongil,[2] the time of the yeere

[1] St. Mary Island, off the east coast of Madagascar, is in lat. 17° 7′ S., long. 49° 52′ E. It is called by the natives Nossi Ibrahim. It is a long narrow island, covered with trees, and lies parallel to the coast. The narrowest part of the channel between St. Mary and Madagascar is four miles wide.

[2] Antongil Bay, on the east coast of Madagascar, is named after Antonio Gil, its Portuguese discoverer. The entrance is eleven leagues to the north of St. Mary Island.

being spent, the easterly winds come against vs, and our men sicke.

This Iland of S. Mary is high land, and full of woods; the people are blacke, very handsome and tall men, and of curled haire, onely before in their foreheads they stroke it up, as the women do here in England, so that it standeth some three inches vpright. They are wholly without apparell, onely their priuy parts couered; they are very tractable to conuerse withall, yet seeme to be very valiant. The most of their food is rice, and some fish; yet at our being there, wee could buy but small store of rice, for the time of their store was farre spent and their harvest was at hand. There are two or three watering places on the north part of this iland, but none of them very commodious; yet with some trauell there is water enough to be had.

The twentie-third of December we departed from this Iland of S. Mary, and the twentie-fift being Christmas day, we came into the Baye of Antongil, and came to an anchor in eight fatham water, betweene a small iland and the mayne, lying in the bottome of the baye, a very good and a safe roade. But the best riding is neerest vnder a small iland, for the defence of the winde that bloweth there; for while we abode in this baye, there blew an exceeding great storme, and those of our shippes that road neerest the small island, beeing vnder the wind, sped best, for two of our ships droue with three anchors ahead, the ground being ozy and not firme. At our going a land in the little iland we perceiued, by writing vpon the rockes, of five Holland ships which had beene there, and were departed about two monethes before our comming in, and had had some sicknesse among their men, and had lost (as we perceiued) betweene one hundred and fiftie and two hundred men while they roade in that place.

The next day after our comming to an anchor, we went a land to the mayne iland, where the people presently re-

paired to vs, and made vs signes of the five Holland ships departed, and that they had bought the most part of their prouision. Yet they entred into barter with vs for rice and hennes, oranges and limons, and another fruit called plantans, and held all at high rates, and brought but a pedlars quantitie. Our market was neere to a great riuer, into which we went with our boats, and some men that were appointed to be buyers went ashore: the rest remained in the boates, alwaies readie with their weapons in their hands, and the boates some fifteene or twentie yardes off into the water, where the people could not wade to them, and were readie at all times (if they a shore had had any need) to take them in. So we trifled off some daies before (as aforesaid) we could bring them to any reall trade, for all these people of the south and east parts are very subtill and craftie in their bartering, buying, and selling, that unless you hold a neere hand with them, you shall hardly bring them to trade in any plaine sort. For they would sift you continually to giue a little more, and then no man will sell without that price; so that you must not inlarge to any one more than another, for in so doing all will have that price or none. The generall seeing this, commanded measures to be made of (almost) a quart, and appointed how many glasse beades should be giuen for euery measure, and that he that would not deale in this manner should not deale at all. The like order was set downe for oranges, limons, and plantans, how many for euery beade, or else not. Our merchants, after a little holding off, consented, and our dealing was francke and round, without any contradiction or words. So that while we abode heere, we bought 15¼ tunnes of rice, fortie or fiftie bushels of their pease and beanes, great store of oranges, limons, and plantans, and eight beeues, with many hennes. While we roade in this baye, we reared a pinnace, which we brought in pieces in our shippes out of England, and cut downe trees, of which

there were very great, and great store, which trees we sawed out in boordes, and sheathed her. This pinnace was of some eighteene tunnes, and very necessary, and fit to goe before our shippes at our comming into India. In the time we stayed heere, there died out of the generalls shippe the masters mate, the preacher, and the surgeon, with some tenne other common men. And out of the Vice-admirall there died the master, with some other two. And out of the Ascention, by a very great mischance, were slaine the captaine and the boatswaines mate. For, as the masters mate out of the generalls shippe was carried a land to be buried, the captaine of the Ascention tooke his boate to goe a land to his buriall; and as it is the order of the sea to shoote off certaine peeces of ordnance at the buriall of any officer, the gunner of the ordnance shotte off three peeces, and, the bullets being in them, one stroke the Ascentions boate, and slue the captaine and the boatswaines mate starke dead, so that they that went to see the buriall of another were both buried there themselues. Those that died heere, died most of the flux, which (in our opinion) came with the waters which we drunke, for it was the time of winter, when it rained very much, which caused great flouds to ouerflowe the countrie, so that the waters were not wholsome, as in most places in these hot countries they are not in the time of their raines. This disease also of the flux is often taken by going open and cold in the stomacke, which our men would often doe when they were hot.

We set saile out of this baye the sixth of March, and held our course toward India, and the sixteenth we fell with an iland called Rogue-Pize,[1] which lyeth in 10½ degrees to the south of the equinoctiall line. To this iland the generall

[1] Roquepez, a low sandy island, said to be in 6° 24′ S. and 60° 4′ E.; but its existence has been doubted, and Captain Taylor suggests that one of Her Majesty's steamers should settle the question of the position of this and other doubtful dangers. (*India Directory*, 1874, p. 536.)

sent his boate, to see whether there were any safe riding for the shippes, but the boate (for the most part) found deepe water, where the shippes could not safely ride. As we coasted along this iland, it seemed very faire and pleasant, exceeding full of foule and coco nut-trees; and there came from the land such a pleasant smell as if it had beene a garden of flowers. And surely, if there be any good riding for shippes in this iland, it must needes be a place of very great refreshing. For as our boates went neere the land, they saw great store of fish, and the foules came wondering about them in such sort, that with the oares, wherewith the mariners rowed, they killed many which were the fattest and the best that we tasted all the voyage. And of these there was such exceeding great abundance, that many more shippes then we had with vs might have refreshed themselues therewith.

The thirtieth of March, 1602, being in sixe degrees to the South of the Line, wee happened vpon a ledge of rockes, and looking ouer-boord, and seeing them vnder the shippe about fiue fathome deepe, it much amazed vs, falling vpon them sudden and vnexpected. Then as wee were presently casting about the ship, wee found eight fathome, and so held on our course east. One of our men being in the top, saw an iland south-east of vs, some fiue or sixe leagues off being but low land; this we judged to be the Iland of Cardu,[1] although in our course we could not (by computation) find ourselues so farre shot to the eastward. Bearing on our course some thirteene or fourteene leagues, we fell upon another flat of rockes. Then wee cast about the southward, and sayling some twelue leagues, found other rockes; so that proving divers wayes, wee found flats of

[1] One of the Maldive group, which extends from 7° 6′ N. to 0° 42′ S. But Lancaster must have been among the Chagos islands and banks, extending from 7° 29′ S. to 4° 44′ S. They were minutely surveyed by Captain Moresby in 1837.

rockes round about us; and twentie and thirtie, and in some places, forty and fiftie fathome water in the middest of the flats. Here we were for two dayes and an halfe in exceeding danger, and could find no way to get out. But at last wee resolued to seeke to the northward, and in sixe degrees, fortie-three minutes (God bee thanked) wee found sixe fathome water; tho pinnasse alwayes going before vs, and sounding, with commandement to make signes what depth sho had, that thereby we might follow her. Thus (thankes be to God) being deliuered out of this pound, we followed our course with variable windes, till the ninth of May, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time we had sight of the Ilands of Nicubar, and bare in and anchored on the north side of the channell. But the wind changing to the south-west, wee were forced to hoyse our anchors, and to beare ouer to the south side of the channell: and so come to an anchor vnder a small iland that lyeth on the said shore. Here wee had fresh water and some coco nuts, other refreshing wee had little. Yet the people came aboord our shippes in long canoas, which would hold twentie men and aboue in one of them, and brought gummes to sell instead of amber, and therewithal deceiued diuers of our men; for these people of the east are wholly giuen to deceit. They brought also hennes and coco nuts to sell, but held them very deare: so that we bought few of them. We stayed here ten dayes, placing of our ordnance and trimming of our ships, because we would be in all readinesse at our arrivall, at our first port, which we were not (now) farre from.

The twentieth of Aprill, in the morning, we set saile to goe toward Sumatra, but the wind blew so hard at south south-west, and the currant was against vs, that we could not procced; but beating vp and downe, our ships fell into two leakes, so that wee were forced to goe to the Iland of

Sombrero,[1] some ten or twelve leagues to the northward of Nicubar. Heere we in the Admirall lost an anchor, for the ground is foule, and groweth full of counterfeit corrall and some rockes, which cut our cable asunder, so that we could not recouer our anchor.

The people of these ilands goe naked, hauing only the priuities bound up in a peece of linnen cloath, which commeth about their middles like a girdle, and so between their twist. They are all of a tauny colour, and annoint their faces with diuers colours; they are well limmed, but very fearefull; for none of them would come aboord our shippes, or enter into our boates. The generall reported that he had seen some of their priests or sacrificers, all apparelled, but close to their bodies, as if they had beene sewed in it; and upon their heads a paire of hornes turning backward, with their faces painted greene, blacke, and yellow, and their hornes also painted with the same colour. And behind them, vpon their buttocks, a taile hanging downe, very much like the manner, as in some painted cloathes, we paint the diuell in our countrey. He demaunding wherefore they went in that attire, answer was made him, that in such forme the diuell appeared to them in their sacrifices; and therefore, the priests, his sernants, were so apparelled. In this iland grow trees, which for their talness, greatnesse, and straightnesse, will serne the biggest shippe in all our fleete for a maine mast: and this iland is full of those trees.

Heere, likewise, we found vpon the sands, by the seaside, a small twigge growing vp to a young tree, and offering to plucke vp the same, it shrunke downe into the ground, and sinketh, unlesse you hold very hard. And being plucked vp, a great worme is the roote of it: and looke how the tree groweth in greatnesse, the worme

[1] The Sombreiro Channel separates Nancowry from little Nicobar. Lancaster's Sombrero Island must be Nancowry.

diminisheth. Now as soone as the worme is wholly turned into the tree, it rooteth in the ground, and so groweth to be great. This transformation was one of the strangest wonders that I saw in all my trauailes. For this tree being plucked vp little, the leaues stripped off, and the pill, by that time it was dry, turned into an hard stone, much like to white corrall; so that this worme was twice transformed into different natures: of these we gathered, and brought home many.[1]

[1] Mr. Homfray, the officer in charge of the Nicobar Islands, informs me that the curious animal, described in the text, is common at the Nicobar Andaman Islands. It is found in the sand between high and low water mark, and is, he thinks, one of the coralliferous polyps *(Virgularia mirabilis)*. It protrudes from its hole as the tide rises, disappearing almost completely when it falls, or on being touched, unless it is clutched very firmly. With much perseverance, it is dug out of the ground while being held by one hand, during which operation it sustains some injury. The so-called leaves break off, owing to the animal having constantly to seek shelter below the sand; and are supposed to be really seaweed or fungus parasites. Out of fifty specimens collected for Mr. Homfray, only four had leaves.

Mr. Warneford, the Chaplain at Port Blair (Andaman Islands), tells me that they are found in great variety, sometimes in sand, but more frequently in mud. Some of them, at the top or part projecting above the surface, do branch out just like a small tree. They vary in colour, in length, and in shape. Mr. Warneford has some specimens in spirits, and numbers of dried ones, white, mauve, and yellow. Some are rough, some smooth; and Mr. Warneford says that the description in the text is true, though rather enlarged. When pulled up, they have a large fleshy bottom, which is really the intestines of the animal, not a separate worm. They have the power of drawing themselves down into the mud when touched.

§ III.

Their entertainment and trade at Achem.[1]

The nine and twentieth of May, we set saile from this iland of Sombrero, and the second of June[2] we had sight of the land of Sumatra, and the fifth of June we came to anchor in the Roade of Achem, some two miles off the citie. Here we found sixteene or eighteene saile of shippes of diuers nations, Goserats, some of Bengala, some of Calicut, called Malabares, some Pegues, and some Patanyes, which came to trade there.

There came aboord of us two Holland merchants which had beene left there behind their shippes, to learn the language and manners of the country. These told vs, we should be very welcome to the king, who was desirous to intertaine strangers; and that the Queene of England was very famous in those parts, by reason of the warres and great victories which she had gotten against the king of Spaine. The same day the generall sent Captaine John Middleton, captaine of the Vice-Admirall, with foure or fiue gentlemen to attend vpon him, to the King, to declare vnto him that he was sent from the generall of those shippes, who had a message and a letter from the most famous Queene of England, to the most worthy King of Achem and Sumatra.[3]

[1] The name is properly Acheh. The Portuguese turned it into *Achem*, and the English call it *Achin*, the Dutch *Atjin*. Colonel Yule suggests that we got our form of the word from the Arabs, who have *Achin*. It is so written in the *Ain Akbari* and in the geographical tables of Sádik Isfaháni. (See *Geographical Magazine*, Aug. 1873, p. 175.)

[2] A.D. 1602.

[3] The name of the King of Achin was then Ala-uddin Shah, a usurper who, in 1585, had murdered the former kings, Mansur Shah, and his family. Alauddin is said to have been originally a fisherman, whose courage and prudence raised him to the position of commander of the forces. He died in 1604, at the age of 95; and was succeeded by his son Ali Maghayat Shah.

And that it would please his royall maiesty to giue to the said messenger audience to deliuer his message and letter, with a sufficient warrant for the safety of him and his people, according to the law of nations, holden in that behalfe. This messenger was very kindly entertained by the king, who when he had deliuered his message, gladly granted his request, and commune with him about many questions: and after caused a royall banquet to be made him. And at his departure gaue a robe and a tucke of calico wrought with gold, which is the manner of the kings of this place to those he will grace with his speciall favour. And withall sent his commendations to the generall, willing him to stay one day aboord his ships, to rest himselfe after his comming from the disquiet seas, and the next day to come a land, and haue kind audience and franke leaue, with as great assurance as if he were in the kingdome of the Queene his mistris. And if he doubted of anything of this his royall word, such honourable pledges should be sent him for his further assurance as he should rest very well satisfied therewith.

The third day, the generall went a land very well accompanied, with some thirtie men or more to attend upon him, and first at his landing the Holland merchants met him, and carried him home to their house, as it was appointed. For as yet, the generall would make choyce of no house of his owne, till he had spoken with the king, but stayed at the Hollanders house, till a noble man came from the king, who saluted the generall very kindly, and declared that he came from his Maiestie, and represented his person. Then he demaunded the queenes letter of the generall, which he refused to deliuer; saying, he would deliuer it to the king himself. For it was the order of embassadours, in those parts of the world from whence he came, to deliuer their letters to the princes owne hands, and not to any that did represent the kings person. So he demaunded to see the

superscription, which the generall shewed him, and he read the same, and looked very earnestly upon the seale, tooke a note of the superscription, and did likewise write her maiesties name; and then, with courtesie tooke his leaue, and repaired to the court to tell the king what had passed. Who presently sent sixe great elephants, with many trumpets, drums and streamers, with much people to accompany the generall to the court, so that the presse was exceeding great. The biggest of these elephants was about thirteene or fourteene foote high, which had a small castle, like a coach upon his back, couered with crimson veluet. In the middle thereof was a great bason of gold, and a peece of silke exceeding richly wrought to couer it, vnder which her Maiesties letter was put. The generall was mounted vpon another of the elephants; some of his attendants rode, others went a foote. But when he came to the court gate, there a nobleman stayed the generall, till he had gone in to know the kings further pleasure. But presently the said nobleman returned, and willed the generall to enter in. And when the generall came to the kings presence, he made his obeysance after the manner of the country, declaring that hee was sent from the most mightie Queene of England to congratulate with his highnesse and treat with him concerning a peace and amitie with his Maiestie, if it pleased him to entertaine the same. And therewithall began to enter into further discourse, which the king brake off, saying: I am sure you are weary of the long trauaile you haue taken, I would haue you sit downe and refresh your selfe. You are very welcome, and heere you shall haue whatsoeuer you will in any reasonable conditions demaund for your princesse sake, for she is worthy of all kindnesse and franke conditions, being a princesse of great noblenesse, for fame speaketh so much of her. The generall perceiuing the kings mind, deliuered him the queenes letter, which he willingly receiued, and deliuered the same to a noble man

standing by him. Then the generall proceeded to deliuer him his present, which was a bason of siluer, with a fountaine in the middest of it, weighing two hundred and fiue ounces, a great standing cup of siluer, a rich looking-glasse, and head-piece with a plume of feathers, a case of very faire daggers, a rich wrought embroidered belt to hang a sword in, and a fan of feathers. All these were receiued in the kings presence by a nobleman of the court; onely he tooke into his owne hand the fanne of feathers, and caused one of his women to fanne him therewithall, as a thing that most pleased him of all the rest. The generall was commanded to sit downe in the kings presence, as the manner is, vpon the ground; where was a very great banquet prouided. All the dishes, in which the meate was serued in, were either of pure gold, or of another mettall, which (among them) is of great estimation, called tambaycke, which groweth of gold and brasse together. In this banquet, the king, (as he sate aloft in a gallery, about a fathome from the ground) dranke oft to the generall in their wine, which they call racke. This wine is made of rice, and is as strong as any of our aquauita: a little will serue to bring one asleepe. The generall, after the first draught, dranke either water mingled therewithall, or pure water; the king gaue him leaue so to do, for the generall craued his pardon, as not able to drinke so strong drinke. After this feast was done, the king caused his damosels to come forth and dance, and his women to play musicke vnto them; and these women were richly attired, and adorned with bracelets and jewels; and this they account a great fauour, for these are not vsually seene of any but such as the king will greatly honour. The king also gaue vnto the generall a fine white robe of calico, richly wrought with gold, and a very faire girdle of Turkey worke, and two cresses, which are a kind of daggers, all which a noble man put on in the kings presence; and in this manner he was dismissed the court, with very great

curtesies, and one sent along with him to make choyce of an house in the citie, where the generall thought most meete. But, at this time, he refused this kindnesse, and rather chose to goe aboord his ships; and left the king to consider of the queenes letter, the tenor whereof hereafter followeth:

"*Elizabeth by the Grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland (Defendresse of the Christian Faith and Religion.)*

"*To the great and mightie King of Achem, &c., in the Island of Sumatra, our louing Brother, greeting.*

"The eternall God, of his diuine knowledge and prouidence, hath so disposed His blessings and good things of His creation for the use and nourishment of mankind, in such sort: that notwithstanding they growe in diuers kingdomes and regions of the world, yet, by the industrie of man (stirred up by the inspiration of the said omnipotent Creator) they are dispersed into the most remote places of the universall world; to the end, that euen therein may appeare unto all nations His maruellous workes, He hauing so ordained that the one land may haue need of the other; and thereby, not only breed intercourse and exchange of their merchandise and fruits, which doe so superabound in some countries and want in others, but also ingender loue and friendship betwixt all men, a thing naturally diuine.

"Whereunto wee hauing respect (right noble king), and also to the honorable and truly royall fame, which hath hither stretched of your Highnesse humane and noble usage of strangers, which repaire into that your kingdome, in love and peace, in the trade of merchandise, paying your due customes. Wee haue beene mooued to giue licence unto these our subiects, who with commendable and good desires, saile to visite that your kingdome: Notwithstanding the dangers and miseries of the sea, naturall to such a

voyage, which (by the grace of God), they will make, beeing the greatest that is to be made in the world : and to present trafficke unto your subieets. Which their offer, if it shall bee accepted by your Highnesse, with such loue and grace, as wee hope for, of so great and magnanimious a prince: wee for them doe promise, that in no time hereafter you shall haue cause to repent thereof, but rather to reioyce much. For their dealing shall be true, and their conversation sure, and wee hope that they will giue so good proofe thereof, that this beginning shall be a perpetuall confirmatione of loue betwixt our subiects on both parts, by earrying from us such things and merchandise as you have need of there. So that your highnesse shall be very well serued and better contented than you haue heretofore beene with the Portugals and Spaniards, our enemies ; who only, and none else of these regions, haue frequented those your, and the other kingdomes of the East. Not suffering that the other nations should doe it, pretending themselves to be monarchs and absolute lords of all these kingdomes and prouinces, as their owne conquest and inheritance, as appeareth by their loftie title in their writings. The contrarie whereof hath very lately appeared unto us, and that your highnesse and your royalle familie, fathers, and grandfathers haue (by the grace of God and their valour) knowne not onely to defend your owne kingdomes, but also to give warres unto the Portugals in the lands which they possesse, as namely in Malaca, in the yeere of Humane Redemption, 1575, under the conduct of your valient Captaine Ragamacota, with their great losse and the perpetuall honour of your highnesse erowne and kingdome.

"And now, if your highnesse shall be pleased to accept into your favour and grace, and under your royall protection and defenee, these our subiects, that they may freely doo their businesse now, and continue yearely hereafter, this bearer, who goeth chiefe of this fleet of foure ships, hath order (with

your highnesse licence) to leaue certaine factors, with a setled house of factorie in your kingdome, untill the going thither of another fleet which shall goe thither upon the returne of this. Which left factors shall learne the language and customes of your subiects, whereby the better and more louingly to conuerse with them. And the better to confirme this confederacie and friendship betwixt us, wee are contented if your highnesse be so pleased that you cause capitulations reasonable to be made; and that this bearer doe the like in our name. Which wee promise to performe royally and entirely, as well herein as in other agreements and arguments which he will communicate unto you; to whom we doe greatly desire your highnesse to give intire faith and credite, and that you will receiue him, and the rest of his companie, under your royal protection, fauouring them in what shall be reason and justice. And we promise on our behalfe to re-answere in like degree in all that your highnesse shall have need out of these our kingdomes, and wee desire that your highnesse would be so pleased to send us answere by this bearer of this our letter, that wee may thereby understand of your royall acceptance of the friendship and league which we offer, and greatly desire may have an happie beginning, with long yeares to continue."

At his next going to the court, hee had long conference with the king concerning the effect of the queenes letter, wherewith the king seemed to be very well pleased, and said if the contents of that letter came from the heart, he had good cause to thinke well thereof. And, for the league her Maiestie was desirous to hold with him, hee was well pleased therewith. And for the further demands the generall made from her in respect of the merchants trafficke, he had committed all these points to two of his noblemen to conferre with him, and promised what her Maiestie had requested should by all good meanes be granted. With this contented answere, after another banquet appointed for the

general, he departed the court. And the next day he sent to those noblemen the king had named to him, to know their appointed time when they would sit vpon this conference. The one of those noblemen was the chiefe bishope of the realme, a man of great estimation with the king and all the people; and so he well deserued, for he was a man very wise and temperate. The other was one of the most ancient nobilitie, a man of very good grauitie but not so fit to enter into those conferences as the bishop was. A day and a meeting was appointed, where many questions passed betwixt them, and all the conferences passed in the Arabicke tongue, which both the bishop and the other nobleman well understood. Now the generall (before his going out of England) intertained a Jew who spake that language perfectly, which stood him in good steed at that time. About many demandes the generall made touching freedomes for the merchantes, the bishop said vnto him: 'Sir, what reasons shall we show to the king, from you, whereby he may (the more willingly) grant these things which you haue demanded to be granted by him?' to whom the generall answered with reasons following:

'1. Her Maiesties mutuall loue.'

'2. Her worthiness in protecting others against the King of Spaine, the common enemie of these parts.'

'3. Her noble mind which refused the offer of those countries.'

'4. Nor will shee suffer any prince to exceed her in kindness.'

'5. Whose forces haue exceeded the Spaniards in many victories.'

'6. And hindered the Portugals attempts against these parts.'

'7. The Grand Signor of Turkie hath alreadie entred into league with her Maiestie on honorable conditions.'

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'Reasons of another kind:'

'8. More ouer, it is not unknowne to the king what prosperetie trade of merchandise bringeth to all lands, with increase of their reuenues, by the custome of these commerces.'

'9. Also princes grow into the more renowme and strength, and are the more feared for the wealth of their subiects, which by the concurse of merchandises grow and increase.'

'10. And the more kindly that strangers are entertained, the more trade doth grow; the prince is thereby much enriched also.'

'11. As for Achem, in particular, this port lieth well to answere to the trade of all Bengala, Java, and the Moluccas, and all China. And these places hauing vent of their merchandise, will not let to resort hither with them; so that, by this meanes, the royaltie of the kings crowne will greatly increase, to the decrease and diminishing of all Portugals trade, and their great forces in the Indies.'

'12. And if it shall happen that his Maiestie wanteth any artificiers, hee may haue them out of our kingdome, giuing them content for their trauaile: and free course to goe as they haue good will to come. And any other necessarie that our countrie bringeth forth and may spare, shall be at the king's command and seruice.

But I hope his Maiestie will not vrge any demands more than her Maiestie may willingly consent unto, or that shall be contrarie to her honour and lawes, and the league she hath made with all Christian princes, her neighbours.

Further, the generall demanded that his Maiestie would cause present proclamation to be made for our safetie, and that none of his people should abuse any of ours: but that they might doe their businesse quietly. And this last request was so well performed that, although there were a strict order that none of there owne people might walke by night,

yet ours might goe both night and day without impeachment of any. Onely, if they found any of ours abroad at vnlawfull houres, the justice brought them home to the general's house, and there deliuered them.

After these conferences ended the bishop demanded of the generall notes of his reasons in writing, as also of his demands of the priuiledges he demanded in her Maiestie's name for the merchants, and he would shew them to the king, and within few dayes he should haue his Maiestie's answere to them. And with these conferences and much gratulation, and with some other talke of the affaires of Christendome, they broke vp for that time.

The generall was not negligent to send his demands to the noble men, which, for the most part, were drawne out before hand, for he was not vnreadie for these businesses before he came aland in the kingdome.

At his next going to the Court, and sitting before the king, beholding the cock-fighting (which is one of the greatest sports this king delighteth in), hee sent his interpreter with his obeisance to the king, desiring him to be mindfull of the businesse, wheroof hee had conferred with his noblemen. Whereupon he called the generall vnto him, and told him that hee was carefull of his dispatch, and would willingly enter into peace and league with her Maiestie, and (for his part) would hold it truely. And for those demands and articles he had set downe in writing they should all bee written again by one of his secretaries, and should haue them authorized by him. Which within fiue or six dayes were deliuered the generall by the king's owne hands with many good and gracious words: the tenor of which league and Articles of Peace are too long to be inserted. According to their desires was to the English granted: first, free entry and trade; secondly, custome free, whatsoeuer they brought in or carried forth, and assistance with their vessels and shipping

to saue our ships, goods, and men from wracke in any dangers. Thirdly, libertie of testament to bequeath their goods to whom they please: Fourthly, stability of bargaines and orders for payment by the subiects of Achem, etc. Fiftly, authority to execute iustice on their owne men offending. Sixtly, iustice against iniuries from the natiues. Seuenthly, not to arrest or stay our goods or set prizes on them. Eightly, freedome of conscience. This league of peace and amitie being settled, the merchants continually went forward prouiding pepper for the lading of the ships; but there came in but small store, in respect of the last yeere's sterility. So by some of them he vnderstood of a port, about an hundred and fiftie leagues from thence in the south part of the same iland, called Priáman,[1] where he might lade one of his smaller ships. Then he prepared the Susan, and placed for captaine and chiefe merchant in her, Mr. Henry Middleton.[2]

He was also not a little grieued that Captaine John Dauis,[3] his principall pilot, had told the marchants before our comming from London, that pepper was to be had here for

[1] Priaman, on the west coast of Sumatra, is in lat. 0° 40′ S., and long. 100° 7′ 25″ E. It is an open roadstead, sheltered by coral-bound islets. It appears that Priaman and Tiku were the principal ports for pepper; and that the King of Achin expelled the English and Dutch from their settlements there, from fear that they would attempt to seize the country. This was previous to the year 1621. In 1684 the chiefs of Priaman invited the English to settle there, and offered them the exclusive purchase of their pepper, with a view to obtaining their aid against the Dutch. But a similar invitation came from Beucoolen, further to the south, and there our chief settlement was formed in 1686. (See Marsden's *Sumatra*, pp. 442 and 451.)

[2] Commander of the subsequent voyage of 1604.—See *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton* (Hakluyt Society's Edition, 1855). Middleton was a native of Chester.

[3] John Davis, the great Arctic Navigator, had previously been a voyage to the East Indies in a Dutch ship which sailed from Flushing in March 1593, and returned to Middelburg on July 23rd, 1600. He was the first pilot that conducted the Zeelanders to the East.

foure Spanish royals of eight the hundred, and it costs vs almost twentie. The generall daily grew full of thought how to lade his shippes to saue his owne credit, the merchants' estimation that set him aworke, and the reputation of his countrey: considering what a foule blot it would be to them all in regard of the nations about vs, seeing there were merchandise enough to be bought in the Indies, yet he should be likely to return home with empty ships.

Besides, the Portugall embassador had a diligent eye ouer euery steppe we trode, but was no whit accepted of the king. For the last day of his being at the Court he had demanded of the king to settle a factorie in his countrey and to build a fort at the coming in of the harbour: his reason was for the more securitie of the merchants' goods, because the citie was subiect to fire. But the king perceiuing what he meant, gaue him this answer backe againe: Hath your master (saith he) a daughter to giue unto my sonne that he is so carefull of the preseruation of my countrey? He shall not neede to be at so greate a charge as the building of a fort, for I have a fit house about two leagues from the citie within the land, which I will spare him to supply his factorie withall, where they shall not need to fear either enemies or fire, for I will protect him. Hereupon the king was much displeased at this insolent demand, and the embassadour went from the Court much discontented.

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§ IIII.

Portugall wiles discouered; a prize taken neere Malacca.

Shortly after this there came to our house an Indian (to sell hennes) which was appertaining to a Portugall captaine who came to that port with a ship laden with rice, out of the port of Bengala. This captaine lay in the embassador's

house, and the generall mistrusted he came only for a spy to see and perceiue what we did, and yet he gave commandement he should be well intreated, and they should alwayes buy his hennes and giue him a reasonable price for them. At last he himselfe tooke occasion pleasantly to commune with the Indian, whence hee was and of what countrey; saying, a young man of his presence merited some better meannes than buying and selling of hennes. Sir, said he, I serue this Portugall captaine, yet am neither bound nor free; but being free borne, I haue beene with him so long time that now he partly esteemeth me as his owne, and so great they are that wee cannot striue with them. Then said the generall vnto him: If thy liberty be precious vnto thee, thy person meriteth it. But what wouldst thou doe for him that would giue thee thy libertie without pleading with thy master for it? Sir, said the Indian, freedom is as precious as life, and my life I would aduenture for him that should doe it. Prooue me therefore in any seruice that I can doe for you, and my willingnesse shall soone make good what I haue said. Well, said the generall, thou hast willed me to prooue whether thou meanest truely or no. I would aske of thee, what the embassador saith of me and my shipping which I haue in this place, and what pretences he hath? Sir, said the Indian, he hath had a spie aboord of all your ships, a Chinese, who is continually conuersant with your people, so that he hath a draught drawne, not onely of your ships and their greatnesse, but also of euery piece of ordnance that each ship hath and how they are placed, and the number of your men that are in them. And he findeth your ships strong and well appointed. But by reason of the sickenesse that hath been in them they are but weake of men and easie to be taken if any force come vpon them on the suddaine, and within few days he meaneth to send his draughts to Malacca for force to attempt your ships as they ride. The general laughed

pleasantly to heare these things, saying: The embassador was not so idle as he thought him, for hee well knoweth (said he) that I care little for all the forces of these parts. It is but to make thee and the rest that are about him beleeue that you are stronger than you be. But goe thy way and be here once in a day or twaine and tell me whether the embassadour goe forward in his proceedings, and when those messengers shall depart with the plots thou speakest of. And although it will benefit me little to know these things, yet I will giue thee thy libertie for thy good will thou shewest therein as I haue promised thee to doe. This Indian went away very well contented, as any man might easily perceiue by his countenance and the lightnesse of his face. Now, when he was gone, the generall turned about and said to me; We have met with a fit man to betray his master if we can make any benefit of the treason. And surely he was not deceiued in his opinion: for by this meanes whatsoeuer the ambassadour did all the day we had it either that night or (at the furthest) the next day in the morning. And this fellow carried the matter so warily that he was neither mistrusted of any of the ambassadour's house, nor knowne to any of ours what businesse he went about. For he had the right conditions of a spie, being wily, fearefull, carefull, subtill, and neuer trusting any to heare what conference he had with the generall, but deliuered his minde vnto him alone, and that in such carelesse sort as if he had answered the generall idlely whatsoeuer he demanded of him: for he stood in feare of his owne people least they would bewray the selling of his hennes, which couered all his comming and going to our house.

The next day the generall was sent for to the Court, and the king had conference with him about an embassage that the King of Siam had sent him touching the conquest of Malacca, and with what force he would assist him by sea if

he undertooke that seruice. For this King of Sumatra is able to put a very great force of gallies to sea if he may haue but some fourre or fiue monethes warning before-hand to make them ready. This conference the generall furthered with many reasons, and tooke an occasion to enter into talke of the Spanish embassadour how insolently proud he carried himself, and that his comming into his Maiestie's kingdome and Court was for no other purpose but onely as a spie to see and discouer the strength of his kingdome. I know it well (said the king) for they are enemies of mine as I haue beene to them; but what causeth thee to see this? The generall answered him: That he could take nothing in hand but his spies attended vpon him to marke what he went about and to what ende. And among other things (saith he) he had taken a draught of his ships and meaneth to send it to Malacca, and to procure forces to set vpon him vnawares. The king smiled to heare the generall mention these things and said: Thou needest not feare any strength that shall come from Malacca, for all the strength they haue there is able to doe thee no harme. The generall answered, I doe not (said he) feare their strength what they can doe to me, but it may be much to my hinderance that they vnderstanding the time I meane to goe to sea they shall thereby bee aduised to keepe themselues within their ports so that I shall not be able to offend them. Is it so, said the king? Yea, said the generall, and therefore I would intreate your Maiestie to make stay of two of the embassador's seruants that are now going to Malacca within these few dayes, who take not their passage from hence, but will goe to another port of yours and there hire a barke to transport them thence, because they will be sure not to be intercepted. And if your Maiestie intercept them there you shall be priuy to some of their plots and pretences. Well, said the king, let mo understand of their departure from hence and thou shalt see what I will doe

for thee. So the generall tooke his leaue of the king well contented, and had daily conference with his merchant that sold hennes: so that there was not any thing done or said in the embassadour's house but he was priuy to it.

Now the time was come that the embassador's two seruants were to depart with their plots and their master's letters: and they went down to a port about fiue and twentie leagues from Achen. But the generall was not slacke to aduise the king thereof, who had giuen order before, so that at their comming thither, and when they had hired their passage and had embarked themselues with all their letters, and were going ouer the barre, a mile from the citie, a frigget went after them and caused the barke to strike sayle, that the justice might see what their lading was. And when the justice came aboord and saw two Portugals there, he asked them from whence they came and whither they were going: they answered, They came from Achem and belonged to the Portugall embassadour. Nay, said the justice, but you haue robbed your master and runne away like theeves with his goods: and therefore I will returne you againe to him from whom you are fled and there you shall answer it. But in this hurly-burly and searching of them they lost their plots and their letters, and their trunkes were broken open; and they were sent to Achem bound backe againe to the Court, to be deliuered to the embassador if they did belong vnto him. The generall had some intelligence of these things, and the next time he came to the Court the king called him vnto him and said; Now, what sayest thou, art thou contented? The generall made him obeisance and gave him humble and heartie thanks for his clemencie and kindnesse towards him: and with some other conference the generall departed for that time. The marchant of hennes came daily following his merchandize, and as the generall suspected, and he himselfe afterwards confessed, not without his master's

consent, to aduise from us as well as he aduised from his master.

But now the summer was past and September came, the time that the generall meant to goe to sea to seeke meanes to supply his necessities; and now fell out the greatest crosse of all to his pretence. The embassador himselfe had his dispatch from the king to be gone. Which the generall knowing went to the Court, and where the king sate seeing the sports that were made before him, he sent his interpreter to him, desiring that it would please him to hear a certain request which he had vnto his Maiestie. Whereupon the king immediately called for him and demanded what he would haue him to doe. It hath pleased your highnesse, said the generall, to doe me many courtesies, and therefore I am further imboldened to proceed to request one kindnesse more at your Maiestie's hands. What is that (said the king smiling) are there more Portugals going to Malacca to hinder thy pretences? Yea, said the generall, the embassadour himselfe (as I am giuen to vnderstand) hath your Maiestie's dispatch to be gone at his pleasure, and is determined to depart within fiue dayes. And what wouldst thou haue me to doe, said the king? Only stay him but tenne dayes, till I be gone forth with my ships. Well, said the king and laughed, thou must bring me a faire Portugall maiden when thou returnest, and then I am pleased. With this answer the generall took his leaue and departed; and hasted all that he could to be gone. For he had left the merchants behind him and vnder the protection of the king till his returne: and in the meane time to buy what pepper they could to helpe to furnish the Ascention's lading, which was now more than three parts laden. But the generall would not leaue her behind him, riding in the port, but tooke her in his company: for she road but in an open place. All the three ships were made readie, and there was a captaine of

a Dutch ship in the road, who desired the generall that he might goe to sea in his company and take part of his aduenture; his ship was above two hundred tunnes, but had as little money to lade himselfe as we; and therefore refused no consort. So the generall was contented to giue him $\frac{1}{8}$ of what should be taken, and hee rested therewith contented. The generall hauing taken his leaue of the king and presented two of the chiefe merchants vnto him, M. Starkie and M. Styles, the king graciously tooke them into his protection and safeguard: for these merchants, with some others, were left behind (as I said before) for the prouiding of such pepper as was there to be had against the returne of the ships from the sea. The ships being ready, we set sayle the eleuenth of September toward the Straights of Malaca.

Now let me tell you how the king dealt with the embassadour of Portugall after our departure, which euery day vrged his dispatch to be gone: but still, vpon one occasion or other his passage was deferred. At last (foure and twentie daies after our departure) the king said vnto him: I maruaile you are so hasty to be gone, seeing the English embassadour is abroad at sea with his shipping? If he meete you he will be able to wrong you and doe you violence. I care little for him, said the embassadour, for my friget is so nimble with saile and oares that if I haue but her length from him, I will escape all his force. Well, said the King: I am the more willing you should depart, because I see you rest assured of your owne safety: and so he had his dispatch to be gone. This seruice came well to passe for vs, for if he had gone away in time such aduice would haue beene giuen from Malacca by frigots into the Straights, that all shippes would haue had warning of vs: but (by this meanes) we lay within fiue and twentie leagues of Malacca it selfe, and were neuer descryed whereby to be preuented. The third day of October, we being in the

Straights of Malacca, laying off and on, the Hector espyed a sayle, and calling to the rest of the shippes, we all discried her. And being toward night a present direction was giuen that we should all spread our selues a mile and a halfe one from another, that she might not passe vs in the night. The shippe fell with the Hector, that first espied her, and presently she called vnto her, and shot off two or three peeces of ordnance: so that the rest of the shippes had intelligence and drew all about her, and began to attempt her with their great ordnance, and she returned shot againe. But when the admiral's ship came vp, he discharged sixe peeces together out of his prow: and then her maine yarde fell downe. After that she shot no more, nor any of our shippes, fearing least some vnfortunate shot might light betweene wind and water and so sinke her (for the generall was very carefull), so the fight ceased till the morning. At the breake of day the captaine, with some of the rest, entred their boate, and the Hector, being next her, called them to come aboord him; and Master John Middleton, the captaine, being vice-admirall, brought the boate and captaine aboord the generall, to whom they rendered their shippe and goods. The generall presently caused all the chiefe men of the prize to be placed aboord our shippes, and onely placed but foure of our men aboord the prize: for feare of rifling and pillaging the good things that were within her; and those foure suffered none other to come aboord. And their charge was, if anything should be missing to answer the same out of their wages and shares: for when the shippe was unladen the boatswaine and the mariners of the same shippe did wholly vnlade her, and none of ours came within her to doe any labour. Onely they receiued the goods into their boates and carried them aboord such shippes as the generall appointed them to doe: so that by this order there was neither rifling, theeuing, pillaging, or spoiling, which

otherwise would hardly haue been anoyded in such businesse as this. Within fiue or sixe daies we had vnladen her of nine hundred and fiftie packes of calicoes and pintados, besides many packets of merchandize: she had in her much rice and other goods, whereof we made full account. Now a storme arising, all the men were set aboord, and we left her riding at an anchor. This shippe came from a place called St. Thoma, that lyeth in the Bay of Bengala, and was going for Malacca. When we intercepted her she had in her aboue sixe hundred persons, men, women, and children: her burthen was nine hundred tuns. The generall would neuer goe aboord to see her, and his reason was, to take away suspicion both from the mariners that were there and the merchants that were at London, least they might charge or suspect him for any dishonest dealing by helping himselfe thereby. He was very glad of this good help and very thankfull to God for it, and as he told me, he was much bound to God that had eased him of a very heauy care, and that hee could not be thankfull enough to him for this blessing giuen him. For, saith he, he hath not only supplied my necessities to lade these ships I haue: but hath giuen me as much as will lade as many more shippes as I haue if I had them to lade. So that now my care is not for money, but rather where I shall leaue these goods that I haue, more than enough, in safety, till the returne of the ships out of England.

The one and twentieth of October our shippes returned out of the Straights of Malacca for Achem, where by the way a great spout of water came powring out of the Heauens and fell not farre from our ship, which we feared much. For these spouts come powring downe like a riuer of water, so that if they should light in any ship she were in danger to be presently sunck downe into the sea: it falleth with such an extreame violence, all whole together as one drop, or as water powred out of a vessell: and sometimes dureth a

quarter of an howre together, so that the sea boyleth with froth of an exceeding height by the violence of the fall of the spoute.

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§ V.

Their present to and from the King: His letters to Queene Elizabeth: Their departure from Priaman and Bantam, and settling a trade there.

The foure and twentieth of October we cast our anchors in the Port of Achem in Sumatra, where the generall went ashore and found all the merchants well and in safety: who gaue great commendations of their good and kind entertainment receiued from the king in the general's absence. Wherefore the generall, willing to gratifie the king with such things as he had taken in the prize, sorted out a present of diuers things that he thought might be most to his liking: and at his first going to the Court presented them vnto him. The king receiued the present and welcomed the generall, and seemed to be ioyfull for the good successe he had against the Portugal: and iestingly said, he had forgotten the most important businesse that he requested at his hands, which was the faire Portugall maiden he desired him to bring with him at his returne. To whom the generall answered: that there was none so worthy that merited to be so presented. Therewithall the king smiled and said: If there be any thing heere in my kingdome may pleasure thee, I would be glad to gratifie thy good will. After this the generall commaunded the merchants to put aboord the Ascention all such pepper, cinnamon, and cloues as they had bought in his absence: which was scarcely the ship's full lading, but at that time there was no more to be had, nor that yeare to be hoped for. And therefore he willed the merchants to put all their things aboord the ships, for his resolution was to depart from

thence and goe for Bantam in Java maior, where he vnderstood both of good sale for his commodities and great returne of pepper to be had, and at a much more reasonable price than they could buy it at Achem. This determination once knowne all men hasten to put their things aboord. So the generall made the king priuy to his departure, and went to the court and had long conference with him, who deliuered him a letter for her Maiestie, written in the Arabian tongue: the tenor wereof is as followeth.

The Letter of the King of Achem to the Queene of England.

Glorie be to God, who hath magnified himselfe in his workes, glorified his dominion, ordained kings and kingdomes, exalted himselfe alone in power and maiestie: he is not to be uttered by word of mouth, nor to be conceived by imagination of the heart, he is no vaine phantasme: no bound may containe him, nor any similitude expresse him: his blessing and his peace is ouer all his goodnesse in the creature: He hath beene proclaimed by his Prophet heretofore, and since that often, and now againe by this writing at this present, inferiour to none. For this citie which is not slacke to shew their loue, hath manifested it in the entertainment of that societie which filleth the horizons with ioy, and hath confirmed it to the eye by a signe which bringeth knowledge of remembrance of it generally and particularly. And for that their request is iust, with purpose for exchange: and they themselues of honest carriage, and their kindnesse great in doing good in generall to the creatures, helping the creature in prosperitie and aduersitie ioyently, giuing liberally vnto the poore and such as stand in neede of their abundance, preseruing the creature to their vttermost with a willing mind: which for them is now extended vnto India and Arach: sending forth the chiefest

men of discretion and note, calling also the best of the creatures to counsaile herein.

This is the Sultana which doth rule in the kingdome of England, France, Ireland, Holland, and Friseland: God continue that kingdome and that empire long in prosperitie.

And because that he which hath obtained the writing of these letters from the king of the kingdome of Achey, who doth rule with an absolute power: and for that there came vnto vs a good report of you, declaired and spread very ioyfully by the mouth of Captaine James Lancaster (God continue his welfare long). And for that you doe record that in your letters there are commendations vnto vs and that your letters are patent priuiledges. Almightie God aduance the purpose of this honourable consociation and confirme this worthy league. And for that you doe affirm in them that the Sultan of Afrangie is your enemy, and an enemy to your people, in what place soeuer he be, from the first untill now, and for that he hath lift vp himselfe proudly and set himselfe as king of the world: yet what is he besides his exceeding pride and haughtie mind? In this therefore is our ioy increased and our societie confirmed: for that he and his company are enemies in this world and in the world to come: so that we shall cause them to die, in what place soeuer we shall meete them, a publicke death.

And moreouer you doe affirm that you desire peace and friendship with vs. To God be praise and thankes for the greatnesse of his grace. This therefore is our serious will and honourable purpose truely in this writing, that you may send from your people unto our ports to trade and to traffique, and that whosoeuer shall be sent unto vs in your highnesse name, and to whomsoeuer you shall prescribe the time, they shall be of a ioynt company and of common priuiledges. For this captaine and his company, so soone

as they came vnto vs, we haue made them of an absolute societie : and we haue incorporated them into one corporation and common dignities : and we haue graunted them liberties, and we haue shewed them the best course of traffique : and to manifest vnto men the loue and brotherhood betweene vs and you in this world, there is sent by the hands of this captaine, according to the custome, vnto the famous citie, a ring of gold beautified with a ruby, richly placed in his sete, two vestures wouen with gold, embroidered with gold, inclosed in a red boxe of tzin.

Written in Tarish of the yeere 1011 of Mahomet. Peace be vnto you.

[Translated out of the Arabick by William Bedwel.]

For a present to her Maiestie he sent three faire cloathes richly wrought with gold of very cunning worke, and a very faire rubie in a ring : and gave to the generall another ring and a rubie in it. And when the generall tooke his leaue the king said vnto him : haue you the Psalmes of David extant among you ? The generall answered : Yea, and we sing them daily. Then said the king : I and the rest of these nobles about me will sing a Psalme to God for your prosperitie, and so they did very solemnly. And after it was ended the king said : I would heare you sing another Psalme, although in your owne language. So there being in the company some twelue of us, we sung another Psalme : and after the Psalme was ended the generall tooke his leaue of the king. The king shewed him much kindnesse at his departure : desiring God to blesse vs in our iourney and to guide vs safely into our owne countrey, saying, if hereafter your ships returne to this port you shall find as good vsage as you haue done. All our men being shipped, we departed the ninth of Nouember, being three ships, the Dragon, the Hector, and the Ascen-

tion. We kept company two days, in which time the generall dispatched his letters for England, and sent away the Ascention, she setting her course homeward toward the Cape of Buena Esperanza, and we along the coast of Sumatra, toward Bantam, to see if we could meete with the Susan, which had order to lade upon that coast.

As we sayled along the coast of Sumatra we sodainly fell among certaine ilands in the night: and the day approching wee maruelled how wee came in among them without seeing any of them. They were all low landed and full of flattes and rockes, so that wee were in great danger before we could cleere our selues of them; but thankes be to God, who deliuered vs from many other dangers, as he did also deliuer vs from these. So holding on our course from Priaman we passed the equinoctiall line the third time, and came thither the sixe and twentieth of Nouember and found the Susan there, which the generall had sent before him from Achen to lade there. Now when they saw vs they were very glad of our comming, and had prouided toward their lading some six hundred bahars of pepper, and sixtie-sixe bahars of cloues. Heere our pepper cost vs lesse then at Achen; but there is none growing about this port, but is brought some eight or ten leagues out of the countrey from a place called Manangcabo. This place hath no other merchandise growing there, only there is good store of gold in dust and small graines, which they wash out of the sands of riuers, after the great floods of raine that fall from the mountains, from whence it is brought. This is a place of good refreshing and is very wholesome and healthfull, and yet it lyeth within fifteene minutes of the line. At this port, hauing refreshed our selues with the good ayre, fresh victuals, and water, the generall gaue commission to the captaine of the Susan to make what haste he could for his lading, which would bee accomplished with some hundred bahars of pepper,

and so to depart for England. And the fourth day of December we took our course towards Bantam,[1] in the iland of Iava maior: and we entred the Straights of Sunda the fifteenth of December, and came to an anchor vnder an iland, three leagues from Bantam, called Pulopansa.

The next day, in the morning, we entred the road of Bantam, and shot off a very great peale of ordnance out of the Dragon, being our admirall, and out of the Hector: such an one as had neuer beene rung there before that day. The next day, in the morning, the generall sent his admirall, Captaine John Middleton, a-land with a message to the king: declaring that he was sent by the Queene of England, and had both a message and a letter to deliuer to his Maiestie from her, and required his Maiesties safe conduct and warrant to come a-land to deliuer the same. The king returned him word that he was very glad of his comming, and sent backe a nobleman with Captaine Middleton, to welcome the generall a-land. The general tooke some sixteen men in his company and went a-land with the nobleman to the Court, where he found the king (being but a child of ten or eleuen yeares of age) sitting in a round-house, with some sixteene or eighteen noblemen of the countrey about him in some reasonable estate. The generall did his obeysance, and the king welcomed him very kindly. And after the generall had had some conference about his message, hee deliuered to the kings hand her maiesties letter, with a present of plate and some other things with all: which the king receiued with a smiling countenance, and referred the generall (for further conference) to one of his nobles, who was then protector. After some houre and a halfes conference had of many things, the said nobleman (as from the king) receiued the generall vnder

[1] The western end of Java. Bantam was first visited by the Portuguese in 1511, when Henrique Lemé, one of Alboquerque's captains, anchored at the port. The Dutch first came to Bantam in 1596.

the kings protection, and all his company: willing him to come a-land, and buy and sell, without any kind of molestation, for there he should be as safe as if he were in his owne countrey: and to this all the nobles agreed with one consent. There passed many speeches of diuers things, which (for breuities sake) I omit to trouble the reader with all: for my purpose is to shew the effect of this first setling of the trade in the East-Indies, rather than to particularize of them. The generall, after his kind welcome and conference, had tooke his leaue of the king and the rest of the nobles: and presently gaue order for the prouiding of housing, whereof the king willed him to make his best choice wheresoeuer he would. So, within two days, the merchants brought goods ashore, and beganne to sell: but one of the kings nobles came to the generall, and said it was the custome of that place that the king should buy and furnish himselfe before the subiects should buy anything. The generall was well contented, for he was aduised that he would giue a reasonable price, and pay uery well. The king being serued, the merchants went forward in their sales: so that within some fiue weekes much more was sold there in goods then would haue laden our two shippes: and yet they brought away from thence two hundred and seuentie sixe bagges of pepper. These contayned sixtie two pound waight a piece, and cost at first penny 5.½ rials of eight tho piece, beside our anchorage, and the kings custome, which anchorage for our two ships cost vs (by agreement the generall made with the Sauendar or the Gouernour of the citie) fifteene hundred rials of eight, and one riall of eight vpon euery bagge of custome. Wee traded heere very peaceably, although the Jauians be reckoned among the greatest pickers and theeves of the world. But the generall had commission from the king (after he had receiued an abuse or two) that whosocuer he tooke about his house in the night, he should kill them: so, after foure or fiue were thus

slaine, we liued in reasonable peace and quiet. But, continually, all night, wee kept a carefull watch. As we went buying pepper, we sent it aboord, so that by the tenth of February our ships were fully laden, and readie to depart. But in this meane time the captaine of the Hector, Master John Middleton, fell sicke aboord his ship in the roade (for the generall obserued this from the beginning of the voyage, that if he himselfe were ashore, the captaine of the Vice-Admirall kept aboord, because both should not be from their charge at one time). The generall hearing of his sicknesse, went aboord to visit him, and found him weaker than he himselfe felt, which experience had taught him to know in these hot countries. And so it happened with Captaine Middleton then walking vp and downe, who dyed about two of the clocke next morning.

Now, the generall began to put all things in order, and hasten his departure, and appointed a pinnasse of about fortie tunnes (which he had) to be ladden with commodities, and put in her twelue men with certaine merchants, and sent her for the Moluccas, to trade there and settle a factorie against the returne of the next shipping out of England. Moreouer, he left eight men and three factors in Bantam, the chief of which factors was Master William Starkey, whom he appointed to sell such commodities as were left there, and to prouide lading for the shippes against the next returne. Also the generall went to the court to take his leaue of the king, where he receiued a letter for her maiestie, and a present for her of certaine bezar-stones, very faire, and to the generall he gaue a very faire Sana dagger, which they much esteeme there, and a good bezar-stone, with some other things. And thus the generall tooke his leaue of the king, with many kind countenances and good words.

§ VI.

Their departure for England, and occurrents in the way.

The twentieth day of Februarie[1] we went all aboord our ships, shot off our ordnance, and set sayle to the sea toward England, with thankes to God, and glad hearts, for his blessings towards vs. The two and twentieth and three and twentieth of the same moneth we were in the Straights of Sunda, and the sixe and twentieth wee were cleere of all the iles that lye in those Straights, and cleere of all the land, holding our course south west, so that the eight and twentieth wee were in eight degrees and fortie minutes to the south of the Line. Vpon Sunday, the thirteenth of March, wee were past the Tropicke of Capricorne, holding our course for the most parte south-west, with a stiffe gale of wind at south-east. The fourteenth day of April wee were in thirtie foure degrees, iudging the land of Madagascar to be north of vs. The eight and twentieth day we had a very great and a furious storme, so that we were forced to take in all our sayles. This storme continued a day and a night, with an exceeding great and raging sea, so that, in the reason of man no shippe was able to liue in them: but God (in his mercie) ceased the violence thereof, and gaue vs time to breath, and to repaire all our distresses and harmes we had receiued, but our ships were so shaken that they were leakie all the voyage after.

The third of May wee had another very sore storme, which continued all the night, and the seas did so beate vpon the ships quarter, that it shooke all the iron worke of her rother: and the next day, in the morning, our rother brake cleane from the sterne of our shippe, and presently sunke into the sea. This strooke a present feare into the hearts of all men, so that the best of vs, and most expe-

[1] 1603.

rienced, knew not what to doe. And specially, seeing our selues in such a tempestuous sea and so stormie a place, so that, I thinke, there bee few worse in all the world. Now, our ship draue up and downe in the sea like a wracke, which way soeuer the wind carried her, so that sometimes we were within three or four leagues of the Cape Buena Esperanza, then commeth a contrary wind, and driueth vs almost to fortie degrees to the southward into the hayle and snow, and sleetie cold weather. And this was another great miserie unto vs, that pinched vs exceeding sore, so that our case was miserable and very desperate. Yet all this while the Hector kept by vs carefully, the company whereof was some comfort vnto vs: and many times the master of the Hector came aboord our shippe; so at the last it was concluded to take our misen mast and put it forth at the sterne port, to proue if wee could steere our shippe into some place where we might make another rother to hang it to serue our turnes home. But this deuice was to small purpose, for when we had fitted it and put it forth (the seas being somewhat growne with lifting vp the mast) it did shake the sterne, and put all in such danger that it was needfull to make all conuenient haste to get the mast into the ship againe: which we were very glad when we had brought it to passe. Now we were without all remedie, vnlesse we made a new rother, and could bring it to passe to hang it in the sea: which to performe, let euery man iudge how easie a thing it was, our ship being of seuen or eight hundred tunnes, and in so dangerous a sea as this was: but necessitie compelleth to proue all meanes. Then the generall commanded the carpenter to make a rother of the said misen mast, to prooue what wee could doe: but this barre fell in our way: that, at such time as wee lost our rother, wee lost also the most of our rother irons wherewith to fasten the rother. But yet wee went forward and made all the haste we could, and one of our men diued to search

what rother irons remayned, who found but two and one that was broken to helpe vs withall. Yet, by Gods helpe, finding a faire day, wee made fast the said rother, and sailed our course homewards. But within three or foure houres the sea tooke it off againe, and wee had much adoe to saue it, and with the sauing of it wee lost another of our irons, so that now wee had but two to hang it by: and our men began to be desirous to leaue the ship, and goe into the Hector to saue themselues. "Nay," said the generall, "wee will yet abide Gods leasure, to see what mercie he will shew vs: for I despaire not to saue our selues, the ship, and the goods, by one meanes or other, as God shall appoint vs." And with that he went into his cabbin, and wrote a letter for England, purposing to send it by the Hector, commanding her to depart, and leaue him there: but not one of the companie knew of his command. The letter was very briefe, and the tenour litle more or lesse as followeth:—

"Right worshipfull, what hath passed in this voyage, and what trades I haue settled for this companie, and what other events haue befallen vs, you shall vnderstand by the bearers hereof, to whom (as occasion hath fallen) I must referre you. I will striue with all diligence to saue my ship and her goods, as you may perceiue by the course I take in uenturing mine owne life and those that are with mee. I cannot tell where you should looke for me, if you send out any pinnace to seeke me: because I liue at the deuotion of the winds and seas. And thus fare you well, desiring God to send us a merrie meeting in this world, if it be his good will and pleasure.

"The passage to the East India lieth in 62½ degrees by the north-west on the America side.

"Your very louing friend,

"James Lancaster."

This letter being deliuered, the generall thought they would haue beene gone in the night, according to their commission: but when he espied the ship in the morning, he said to me, "These men regard no commission." Now, the ship kept some two or three leagues from vs, and came no neerer: for the master was an honest and a good man, and loued the generall well, and was lothe to leaue him in so great distresse. And now it was time for vs to seeke all meanes that could be to saue our selues and the ship. Then the carpenter mended the rother we had saued, and within two or three dayes the weather begun to bee somewhat faire and the sea smooth. So we put out a signe to the Hector to come neere vs, out of which the master, Master Sanderbole, came and brought the best swimmers and diuers that he had in his ship, who helped vs not a little in the businesse wee had to doe. Thus, by Gods good blessing, wee hung our rother againe vpon the two hookes that were left: so that we had some goode hope to obtaine one port or other to relieue our selues withall. Now, we had beene beaten to and fro in these mightie seas, and had many more stormes of weather than are here expressed, sometimes for one whole moneth together, so that our men began to fall sicke and diseased: and the wind fell so short, that wee could fetch no part of the coast of Africa, which was neerest to us. Committing our selues therefore to God, we set saile straight for the Iland of Saint Helena: for we knew we had doubled the Cape of Buena Esperanza by the height wee were in to the northward. As we were in our course, the maine-yard fell downe, and strooke one of our men into the sea, and he was drowned. This was the end (God be thanked) of all our hard fortunes.

The fift day of June wee passed the Tropicke of Capricorne, and the sixteenth, in the morning, wee had sight of the Iland of Saint Helena: at the sight wereof there was no smale reioycing among us. Wee bare close along by the

shoare, the better to get the best of the road in the harbour, where wee came to an anchor, right against a small chappell, which the Portugals had built there long since. Our ships rode in twelue fatham water, which is the best of the harbo(u)r. At our going a shoare, we found by many writings that the Carrackes of Portugall had departed from thence but eight dayes before our comming. In this iland there is very good refreshing of water and wild goats, but they are hard to come by, vnlesse good direction be giuen for the getting of them. And this course our generall tooke; he appointed foure lusty men, and of the best shot he had, to goe into the iland, and make their abode in the middest of it, and to eury shot he appointed foure men to attend him, to carry the goats that he killed to the rendeuous: thither went (every day) twentie men, to fetch home to the ships what was killed. So there was no hoyting or rumour in the iland to feare the goats withall. And by this meanes the ships were plentifully relieued, and euery man contented. While wee stayed here we fitted our shipping, and searched our rother, which wee hoped would last us home. All our sicke men recouered their health, through the store of goats and hogs, wherewith wee had refreshed our selues, hauing great need of good refreshing. For, in three moneths wee had seene no land, but were continually beaten in the sea.

The fift day of July we set saile from this iland, our course being north-west. The thirteenth day wee passed by an iland called the Ascention, which standeth in eight degrees. No ships touch at this iland, for it is barraine, and without water: onely it hath good store of fish about it, but deepe water, and ill riding for ships. From hence, wee held our course still northwest, the wind being south and south-east, till the nineteenth day, and then we passed the Æquinoctiall-Line. The foure and twentieth day wee were six leagues to the northward, at which time we iudged our selues to be

an hundred and fiftie leagues from the coast of Ginney. Then we steered away north and by west and north till the nine and twentieth, at which time wee had sight of the iland of Fogo. Here wee were becalmed fiue dayes, striuing to passe to the eastward of this iland, but could not: for the wind changed and came to the north east) so we stood west north west.

The seuenth day of August, wee were in sixteene degrees, and the twelfth day wee passed the Tropicke of Cancer, that lieth in 23½ degrees, holding our course northerly. But the three and twentieth, the wind came westerly. The nine and twentieth wee passed the Iland of Saint Marie, the wind faire.

The seuenth day of September wee tooke sounding, iudging the lands end of England to be fortie leagues from us. The eleuenth day wee came to the Downes well and safe to an anchor: for which, thanked be Almightie God, who hath deliuered vs from infinite perils and dangers in this long and tedious nauigation.

THE VOYAGE

OF

CAPTAINS KEELING[1] AND HAWKINS,

1607-1609.

BEING THE THIRD VOYAGE SET FORTH BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

I.

"The principall notes of the Third Voyadge (in the *Dragon*) to the Easte Indies by William Keeling, Governor, begunne the 12th of March, Anno Domini 1607."[2]

The Consent, Hector, and Dragon, sailed from Tilbury Hope on the 12th of March.

In May the Dragon and Hector touched at the Island of Maio.[3] The vessels next touched at Sierra Leone, from whence they sailed on the 15th of September. While there "one Oliphante's tooth waighing 68li" was bought for 5 yards of blue calico and 7 or 8 iron bars.

[1] Captain Keeling had commanded the *Susan* (240 tons) in the second voyage of 1604, under Sir Henry Middleton. The *Hector*, under Captain Stiles, and the *Susan* were left at Bantam by Middleton, to load with pepper. In March 1605, Captain Stiles died, and Keeling then took command of the *Hector*. Keeling sailed from Bantam on March 4th. In October he fell in with Middleton in the *Consent*, off Saldanha Bay, being reduced to extreme misery. They reached England in February 1606. Captain Keeling commanded the Second Joint-Stock Voyage in 1614, and was Commander-General of all the English in the East Indies. He obtained a grant from the King of Achin for trading in pepper, and established a factory at Teko on the west coast of Sumatra. Sir Thomas Roe speaks of him as "a reasonable discreet man".

[2] An Abstract of the Journals of the Voyage. MS. in the India Office, four pages and three-quarters.

[3] One of the Cape Verde Islands. In the former voyage of Middleton, Maio was appointed a place of rendezvous in the event of a separation of the fleet.

On the 17th of December the fleet entered Saldanha Bay, where they "watered and had good refreshing of sheepe and cattells".

On the 19th of February the two ships put into the Bay of St. Augustine, where they had "some small refreshing".

On the 25th of April the Island of "Abderacaria" was sighted, and the vessels anchored to the northward of the Island: from thence they sailed to Samarine Bay, in which they anchored on the 14th of May.

"Pryaman yeldeth yearely not above 500 bahars of peper, but with the partes neare adjoining, as Bassaine,[1] Teckoo, the mountaines, and other like places, yt yealdeth 2,500 bahars yearly: which may be bought very cheape, if a factory weare settelled to buy all the yeare, for theire harvest is only in August and September, and is fetched away by them of Achene and Java; but the Guyzerattes have noe trade heare, for the King of Achene hath given expresse commaund to the contrary."

The Dragon anchored in Bantam Road in October, where she was joined by the Hector on the 11th of November. Twelve days later the Dragon was despatched on her homeward voyage to England.

In February (1609) General Keeling visited Banda, where the people and Hollanders welcomed him.

In March a secret agreement was made to send a factor to Polley.[2] At the same date the people and Hollanders were at open war.

Captain Keeling entered into an agreement at Polley, that the natives were to supply him alone with all the spices at Polley, Pooloroon,[3] and Nirapotte.[4] The Hol-

[1] Passaman and Tiku, ports on the west coast of Sumatra, north of Priaman.

[2] Bali.

[3] Pulo Rhun, one of the Banda Islands, in the Moluccan Archipelago.

[4] Banda Neira, another of the Banda Islands.

landers then offered the natives 12,000 dollars to drive the English from the country, but this offer the natives declined.

In May the Vice-Admiral of the Dutch fleet sent word to Captain Keeling, that he hoped the latter would not take it in ill part if his boats searched the English ones when going on shore, to see what aid was given to his enemies. Captain Keeling, to avoid such an inconvenience, replied that if the Hollanders would pay such debts as Neira and Comba owed him, he would trade only at Polley and Pooloroon: finally, for quietness' sake, he yielded. Nevertheless, on the 5th of June "I went with my last rice to Polley, the Hollander having first sent abord and serched to our great discontentes: nevertheless, the ship at Lintore wearned us, and called to come abord, which I refused; they said they would shott, but I neither went aboard, nor they shott".

The natives and Hollanders made peace in August.

Having obtained the Dutch letters for such debts as were due to him, Captain Keeling set sail for Bantam. On the passage the Hector anchored off the Island of Celebes, about half a day's sail from Macassar. Captain Keeling did not venture closer in towards the town, as he had heard that a large ship had been lately cast away there.

On the 26th of August the Hector anchored in Bantam Road, where pepper was received in payment for the debts due at Banda.

On the 5th of October the Hector sailed for England, but Augustine Spalding, as chief factor, and ten other Englishmen, were left behind to found a factory.

II.[1]

The Hector, Captain Hawkins, and the Dragon, Captain Keeling, sailed on the 7th of March from Erith. The wind proving unfavourable, the vessels did not reach the Downs until the end of the month. The Hector, while in the Downs, was found to leak badly, but her own carpenter was able to execute the necessary caulking.

On the 16th of April the two ships left Plymouth, from which port the Consent had sailed a few days previously.

The Island of Maio was visited in hopes of obtaining a supply of fresh water, but as none could be obtained, the vessels put to sea again, "God still furtheringe our jorney with prosspurus winde, though our wicked actiones and inhewmayne vilenes merited instead hereof fearfull judgmentes".

The weather on the 14th of May was very stormy, and "the raigne which we had this morninge mad our cabbenes and all thinges yet weate smell verey noysomely".

From the latitude of Cape St. Augustine, on the coast of Brazil, the Hector and Dragon were driven by contrary winds to the northward of the Line.

For the purpose of refilling the water casks, the general put into Sierra Leone. At this place, as "for cattell theare weare none to be gooten, for the countrye seemed baggerly, and the people verey idle, but for ought wee perceived harmlesse".

* * * * * *

[1] MS. in the India Office, Thirty-two and a half folio pages. The entry for the 30th of August, 1607, breaks off abruptly at the foot of a page; the first entry on the next page consisting of the latter part of a sentence, is that for the 18th of February, 1607-8. The final entry in this Journal is an incomplete one for the 12th of March, 1607-8.

The fleet on the 19th of February [1607-8] anchored in the Bay of St. Augustine.[1] On the following day, Captain Hawkins landed and went a short distance into the country. On his return to the boat, "he founde one of his men sore hurte with a crockadile, or alligator, which had seised upon the mannes legge, whose name was George Evans, as hee had benne washinge a sherte by the boate's side, and tugged him over a river, beinge shoale water; but hee, findinge himselfe in such sorte, halled away, and being amassed footed the crokadile with his other foote, and soe by greate chance bracke from him sore wounded and recovered the boate, mackinge no other accounpte but that his foote was gonne, till he sawe yet the hinder parte of the small of his legge was bytten cleane asunder both flesh and synewes to the bone; and had the alligator gott him into deepe water, assuredly he had bene carried clene away".

The natives "seeme to bee a martiall people in theire kinde and verie ingenious". "They are not verey blacke, but browne of coller: the heare of som of them was artificially platted, of others yt was round-fryzeled lycke the forme of a flatte cappe." "Wine they seemed not to care for, and would but taste theireof."

While lying in the Bay, the Dragon twice snapped her cables, whereby two anchors were lost at "this ylfavoured hole, wheare wee could see nothinge worth commendacions for our purpose; for although wee gott a few cattle, yet it seemed they weare brought farr of, so that we could not expect any store".

The water casks having been filled, the vessels put to sea on the 28th of February, and on the 12th of the following month were within sight of the coast of Mozambique.

[1] On the south-west coast of Madagascar.

III.[1]

The Dragon, whereof Captain William Keeling was general, and the Hector, Captain Hawkins, sailed from Erith on the 8th March, 1606-7, and next touched at Plymouth, from which port they departed on the 16th of April, 1607.

On the 7th of May the ships anchored off Maio,[2] where they lay for two days. During that time no tidings of Mr. Dirham, who in 1604 had been left behind there by Sir Henry Middleton, were obtained.

The Island of Fernando Larania [Fernando Noronha] was sighted on the 6th of June, and ten days later the ships were off the coast of Brazil. From that time the fleet drifted northwards, and recrossed the Line on the 8th of July.

As some 50 of the Dragon's crew and an equal number of the Hector's men were ill with scurvy and the flux, and as, owing to the wind, it was impossible to reach the Island of Fernando Larania, the General on the 30th of July held a Council, when it was resolved to put into Sierra Leone, of which place Sir Francis Drake and Captain Cavendish had made a favourable report.

On the 6th of August the vessels entered the harbour of

[1] MS. in the India Office, fifty-nine and a quarter folio pages. The Journal of the Third Voyage to India, so far as relates to the *Dragon*, was kept by John Hearn and William Finch. It contains slight sketches of some of the more prominent islands and landmarks sighted on the passage. The last entry is the one for the 19th of June 1608, at which date the *Hector* and *Dragon* were lying at anchor before Bandar Delishi, in Socotra.

[2] See *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Maluco Islands* (Hakluyt Society, 1855), pp. 5 and 6. Mr. Durham landed on the Island of Maio with the men, to whom he gave a strong warning not to straggle. But he seems to have straggled himself, so Sir Henry Middleton left him behind.

Sierra Leone, at which place they remained till the 13th of September. During that time the sick were sent on shore to some empty huts, formerly built by the Portugals. A Portuguese ship, too, a regular trader between the Cape de Verde Islands and Sierra Leone, put in there. Its master avoided having any dealings with the English.

In retaliation for thefts committed by some of the crew, the natives detained one man a prisoner at their village. When this affair was reported to Captain Keeling, he caused the offenders to be punished in the presence of the owners of the stolen goods, to whom also he restored their property.

A Portuguese Friar having undertaken to forward letters to England, the General took advantage of the offer.

"This Fryer, with 2 more, doe keepe heer aboute Sierra Leone amongst the Portingalls to say masse: also to procure some of the black people to become Christians, they havinge drawne some fewe already to bee Christians".

"This people are verry lusty men, stronge and well limmed; and a good people and true, they will not steall as others of their collour will doe in other places, ffor many of our men lost many things ashore, and they that found them brought them and restored them to the right owners. And in all that tyme of our beeinge heer wee hadde no injury offered to any of our people, but all the kyndnes that might bee expected at the hands of such a black heathen nation."

Previous to sailing, Captain Keeling had a stone, engraven with his own name and that of Captain Hawkins, set up on the beach, close to another one, which bore the names of Sir Francis Drake, aº 1580, and Captain Candish, aº 1586.

The fleet having sailed from Sierra Leone, next anchored in Saldanha Bay, where the General, at the request of the crews, put in for the purpose of obtaining fresh provisions. From the country people 462 sheep and 81 head of cattle were purchased.

"These people heer are a verry heathenish and brutish people, not given to any goodnes. They doe apply all their witts unto filchinge and stealinge. Their weapons are darts, wherewith they are verry nimble, and verry expert in using them. They are verry light of foote. They are much afrayd of a peece, for so soone as they doe heare the reporte thereof they fall downe to the ground, thinking thereby to escape the danger of the shott."

On the 1st of January 1607-8 the fleet again set sail, and on the 19th February entered the bay of St. Augustine. At this place only a few cattle were obtained; the water casks too were filled.

The natives "are a verry ingenious and an understandinge people; they are of the collor of molatoes. They have verry arteficiall darts, headed lyke unto a broad-arrow head of iron, and doe keep them verry bright. They have netts verry arteficially wrought, as our netts bee in England, but they bee made of cotton yarne. They have good understandinge in silver, and doe know how to chose it: we shewed them pewter spones and other toyes made of tin and lead, which they knewe presently to be base, and of small vallew. They bee proper comely men, verry well limbed, and of a reasonable good behaviour. They bee a verry sweete and cleane people, without any filthiness on their heads or their bodies."

"This place neer unto the sea syde doeth yield nothinge that is good. For I could not see anythinge but trees which yeild no fruit, and sandy playnes yeilding no kynde of fodder for cattell; neyther aboute this place is there any lykelyhood of ground where ryse might growe; but that both their cattell and ryse are farr upp in the country.

"And I hope that hereafter our owners at home will not prohibitt touchinge at the Cape in hope of reliefe at any other place whatsoever, consideringe that the touchinge there (although it bee for a shorter tyme) doth so much

importe the good of the voyage, both by preserving of men's healths by refreshinge in harbour, as also there may be flesh saved, in the manner as wee doe in the West Indias for 6 weeks victualls at the least."

On the 28th of February the fleet left the bay of St. Augustine, and having on the passage sighted the island of Pemba, Cape Dorfu, and the islands of Abba de Curia[1] and Dos Tomoas,[2] arrived in April at the island of Zokotora.

The general landed on the western side of the island, and entered a town from which, on his approach, the inhabitants had fled, as they thought that the party were Portugals, by whom many of their number had been carried off to the mainland, and there sold as slaves.

"This towne is of a reasonable bignes. The houses are built of stone and clay, fower square, and flatt on the topps. Neer the sea syde standeth their church, which is likewyse built square, of stone and clay, lyke unto the houses: but it is whyted on the oute syde with a kynde of lyme, and it is walled round aboute with a stone wall in manner of a church. In it wee sawe an altar, wheruppon are placed 3 crosses of wood, which they have anointed with a kynde of sweete oyntment; likewyse they have sweete wood and frankinsence to burne; also there are places for tapers to burne in, and there hangeth an ould peece of pintado for a rellique. By all which wee deemed them to bee a kynde of Christians. And in the towne wee came to a More's house, where we found a table of their lawe written in Arabique, and dyvers wrytings in Arabique in their houses. We sawe many samples of druggs, as Olibanum, Mastick, Sang-Dragonis, Turmerich, Blattalizantia, and Aloes, with other gomes and woods, as also exceedinge sweete powders; but whether this island yield them or no, I know not."

[1] Abd-al-Kuri, an island midway between the west end of Socotra and Cape Guardafui.

[2] The Brothers; two islands south-west of Socotra.

As no supplies could be obtained at this town, the fleet moved round to the northern side of the island, and anchored opposite the town of Tamore.[1] The people of this place promised to supply the ships with provisions and water.

A Guzerat ship having entered the bay, Captain Keeling obtained from the Guzerats much information touching the navigation to Aden, Surat, and Cambaya. They further informed him that broadcloth, iron, and lead were good articles for trade at Aden, but that quicksilver and red lead were in much greater demand; also, that "the Governour that now is is a yonge mann, whose fame is far spredd to bee verry kynde unto all strangers that doe come thither in trade."

Tamore and Delisha[2] were the chief towns of Zokotora, which island was a part of the dominions of Ameer Bensaid.

"These people are a kynde of Mores, and doe naturally speake the Arabian tongue. They be a verry subtill people, and doe live under the Mahometan Lawe. There bee many verry proper comely men, and have a reasonable civill government amongst them. They are both black, tawney, and white. There bee in this island aboute 3 thousand Cafars, but for the most parte they bee montaniers which seldome or never come into these towns of governement: and of the better sorte of people in this island, which are Mores, are aboute three hundred.

"This island doeth yield cattell, goates, sheep, and henns. There bee also many date trees uppon this island, especially at this towne Tamoré, wherof I doe judge it taketh the name, tamorá beeing the Arabique worde for a date. Here is also the drugg Aloe Sokotrina, which is made of the herbe Sempervive: it taketh the name of the island Sokotora.

[1] Tamarida, the principal town in Socotra.

[2] Bandar Delishi.

The Portingalls in tyme of yere doe come hither and trade with them for this drugg, gevinge them silver for the same: but now, at this tyme, there is none to be hadd, the country beeing all burnt upp with extreamitie of heate through want of rayne.

"The Guzerats doe lykewyse come hither in trade, bringinge them ryce, white callicos, and other stuffs made aboute Cambaya, which they truck with them for silver. Yf the Guzerats doe take in any water heer they pay for it, as well as for any thinge ells that this island doeth yield, and the reason is in that they come not with such force as the Portingalls or we doe.

"This iland yeildeth also some Civitt Catts, but verry few."

In compliance with the wish of the Governor of Tamore, Captain Keeling left a letter with him, to show to any Englishmen who at a future time might visit the island. The purport of the letter was, that the natives had received the General kindly, and had supplied the ships with water and fresh provisions, but that over much credit was not to be given to them, "they beeinge Mores, and full of deceipt."

On the 29th of April the fleet set sail for Aden. During the day the General examined a runaway slave, who had boarded the Dragon. The man stated that he was a native of Arabia Felix, from whence, as a prisoner of war, he had been brought to the island, where he had endured much misery. In answer to questions, he said that the people and the king's son had been very unwilling to allow any persons to land; that the latter had given orders that no one should be allowed to enter the town, or wander among the trees, for fear that the cattle, sheep, and goats might be discovered, as well as a river of fresh water. This slave was afterwards restored to his owner.

On the 5th of May the vessels anchored in the bay of Zokotora, close to two ships, one of which was the Guzerat

which had been at Tamore. The General gave the commanders of these ships letters, and in return received from them letters to the King of Cambaya and Governor of Aden.

Contrary winds forced the general to return to Tamore, where the fleet remained till the 19th of May, on which day the vessels were moved round to an anchorage opposite the "ragged town" of Delisha, the only safe port in the island, during the continuance of the south-west winds.

In May Captain Keeling had the allowance of bread issued to each mess reduced by one-fourth part, the better to make it hold out for the homewards voyage, but he promised the men that so long as the ships remained at Delisha they should have one meal a day of fresh meat.

In June a council was held, at which it was settled that both ships should remain at Delisha until the wind should be favourable for continuing the voyage, in preference to the Dragon's immediately sailing for Bantam, while the Hector awaited a change of wind fair for a passage to Cambaya.

THE VOYAGE

OF

CAPTAIN SHARPEIGH,

1608-1609.

BEING THE FOURTH VOYAGE SET FORTH BY THE EAST INDIA[1] COMPANY.

I.

The Ascension, of which Captain Alexander Sharpeigh[2] was general, and the Union, sailed from Woolwich on the 14th of March (1607-8), and having on the passage touched at Teneriffe and Maio, arrived on the 14th of July at Saldanha Bay, where they remained till the 18th of September. During that time the pinnace was enlarged, and named the Hope; sheep and cattle were purchased, and oil for light was obtained from seals killed on Penguin Island.

Having sailed from Saldanha Bay, the vessels were separated during a storm.

The Ascension having passed the Island of St. Lawrence,

[1] MS. in the India Office, seventy-five and a half folio pages. The journal proper consists of sixty and a half pages, the remaining fifteen pages being copies of twenty-five letters from Captain Sharpeigh, while detained on shore at Aden, to the merchants and master on board the *Ascension*. In these letters he related all that happened to himself, and also gave directions concerning what goods should be landed, and what steps should be taken to procure his own release. Both the journal and the copies of the letters are in the same handwriting.

[2] On January 12th, 1608, Captain Alexander Sharpeigh was engaged as General of the voyage at £10 per month, and 100 marks for his provision at sea; and he offered to adventure £200 in the general stock. The Vice-Admiral was Captain Richard Rowles, and the Master Philip Grove, who had been in the voyages of Lancaster and Middleton. Sharpeigh took his brother with him as servant.—See *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1513-1616.

anchored on the 25th of November off the Island of Comoro, the natives of which place were found to be faithful and courteous.

The Island of Pemba was next touched at. At first the people seemed friendly, but afterwards they made a treacherous attack on a party engaged in filling the water-casks, when one man was killed, another wounded, and a third was missing, of whom no tidings could be obtained, when a force landed on the following day to seek for him. On the return of this party the Ascension put to sea. During the night the vessel touched ground, but fortunately floated off without having suffered any damage.

Next day three small ships, "Pangaes", were captured. Some of their company were brought on board, and kindly treated, but suddenly they with their knives attacked the crew: "upon this occasyon wee made with them shorte worke, and brought most part of them by sundry wayes to their last home; giving thankes to God for this last deliverye, wherein the owld proverbe was verrefyed, That one Myscheife comes syldome alone." The goods found in these ships, consisting principally of coarse calicoes of no great value, were transferred to the Ascension.

On the night of the ninth of January (1608-9) there was "an eclipes of the moone wch was very fayre, and continewed one hower and 30 minutes."

A supply of fresh water was obtained from some uninhabited islands in latitude 4 deg. 10 min. south; there many "lande turtles of a hudge bignes" were found, also much goodly ship timber grew on the islands.

On the 1st of April, the Ascension being off the coast of Socotora, fell in with a Guzerat ship from Diew,[1] bound to Aden, whither the General arranged to accompany her. On the 7th, the Ascension anchored some 2 leagues from Aden, which city she next morning saluted

[1] Diu.

with 5 pieces of ordnance. In the morning, the pilot of the Guzerat ship, with the Sabindar and the Admiral of the sea for the city, and divers others, went on board the ship. They promised to supply such things as the ship required, and added that such goods as were there vendible might be sold upon paying the ordinary customs. On the 8th, the General landed and had a house assigned him by the Governor, but was prevented from returning to the ship. On the 10th, by the General's order, the Ascension was warped in closer to the city, which she saluted with 3 guns; the city replied with 25 guns; when, to show the vessel was well armed, a second salute of 14 guns was fired. The Governor of the town sent word to the Bashaw, who resided at Sinay,[1] a city distant seven days' journey from Aden, of the arrival of the ship: the latter gave orders to treat the company in such manner as would induce them to return there for trade. Notwithstanding this order, Captain Sharpeigh was still detained, the Governor at one time promising to release him if he would unlade the ship, at another time if he would settle about the customs. Finally, his liberation was procured by exchanging for him two of the Governor's officers, who, having boarded the Ascension, had been detained on board as hostages. Then the Governor insisted on sending Mr. Jourdain and Mr. Glascock to the Bashaw, but they failed in obtaining from him redress. From Sinay they went to Mocha,[2] and there rejoined the ship.

"The city is a garryson, and consystes more in souldiers then in marchaunts; though frequented by some fewe marchaunts in some fashion from India, to furnishe the place it selfe and other places adjoyninge thereto wth the commodetyes y^t^ India affoardes, wch noe doubt they make great bennefytt thereby. It standeth in a valley, and hath upon the northe syde, upon a lyttell ilande or rocke cut out of the mayne, a fayer castell to see, too invynceabell to be

[1] Sana' â. [2] El-Mokha.

taken but by famyne. This castell commandes the poarte and holle cittye, wch for antycketye is famous: but now for waunt of repayringe is very much ruinated and fewe good houses standinge therein, a thing lammentabell to see the ruines of fayer houses in y[t] sorte to bee raced downe to the grounde. Yet have they a great care for the beautefyeinge their citty to keepe the walles next unto the sea syde in repparation, wch makes the citty shewe outwardly very fayer."

On the 8th of May, W. Revett, Philip Glascòck, and another, were sent forward to Mocha. At that port they found many ships from Dabul, Diewe, Chaull,[1] Surat, Cocheen, and Ormus. They were well received by the Governor, who gave them permission to take a house. At first they occupied the house of "a talkative lyenge Jewe, wch spake Spanishe".

From a merchant of Surat they learned "for a certaine of Capten Haukins, his being wth the Hector at a place called Surratt, where hee was kyndly entertayned, and had beene wth the Kyng, who had graunted him to establish a factory in Surratt: to w[ch] end hee had sent away his shipp for Bantam, but remayned himself with three more there". With this and other intelligence, Glascock returned to the General.

On the 9th of June, the Ascension, which at Aden had been rejoined by the pinnace, anchored off Mocha. While at sea some of the pinnace's crew had murdered their master, "honest Jno. Luffkin", for which crime two of their number were executed.

Mocha is much resorted to by merchants from Constantinople, Aleppo, Damascus, and Tripoli, who bring with them cloth, kersey, tin, all sorts of silk stuffs, but principally ready money, to trade with those from Ethiopia and all parts of India. "The citty is situated in a playne, and consistes in

[1] Choul.

some 6000 houses, the 3 partes whereof are of caines covered of straw (ye reason is); it rayneth very lyttell there. It hath the water from wells, some myles out of the citty, and brought in by poore peopell upon asses, by wch meanes they gett their livinge. It hath neither walls, castell, nor fort, nor garde of souldiers. But the chiefe mauntenaunce of it is ye trade of marchaunts, wch with the easterly monsones commeth out of India to sell their marchandize unto the marchaunts afforesayd, wch commeth by bark from Swes[1] and Zidda." "Now, by reason of troubles in Zidda[2] and other places in those partes, this citty serveth the marchaunts of Constantinopell, Alleppo, Trippolie, Damasco, and Grand Cairo, of turbanes, callicoes of all sortes, pyntadoes, and divers other coullored stuffes, as also white of great vallew, wth all sortes of spyce, cotton, wolle, and in fyne indico, wch goeth by this passadge into most partes of the worlde. They bringe also and serveth this place out of India much iron, wch they reape great bennefytt by, and are shewer of ther sales."

"They make no meanes to fortefy, for y^{t} the peopell sayeth they have 2 proffetts wch remayneth in the citty, and have each of them their Muscito, wch is a church or house of devotion. These proffetts by watch night and day, as they say, doe guard the citty. The one of them is called Shaomer Shadli, and the other Shedhla Amoode. Shaomer Shadli was the fyrst inventor for drynking of Coffe, and therefore had in esteemation: the other for some superstitous matters had in honour."

"The peopell are very affabell (and degennerate from them in Turkey): for y^{t} a man may passe heere quyetly all seasons both day and night wthout molestation. Goodes lyinge continually upon the key wthout pylferinge or purloyninge."

On the 26th of July the Ascension sailed from Mocha,

[1] Suez. [2] Jiddah.

and on the 12th of August anchored off Socotra. Tho General was induced by the natives to move from that anchorage to another, which they represented to be more convenient for obtaining water at; but this was found to be false. Of General Keeling the natives spake much and favorably, but did not produce any letter from him until the Ascension was getting under sail. General Keeling's letter was a warning against the treacherous dealings of those people. A similar letter, for the benefit of any who at a future period should touch at that island, having been sent on shore, the voyage was resumed on the 20th of August.

While lying at Socotra the Ascension lost all her anchors except one.

THE VOYAGE

OF

CAPTAIN SHARPEIGH,

1608-1609.

BEING THE FOURTH VOYAGE SET FORTH BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

II.

Captain Alexander Sharpeigh's account of his voyage to India, and of the loss of the *Ascension*.[1]

The Ascension and Union had a quick passage from England to Saldanha Bay. After leaving that bay the Ascension lost sight of the Union and the pinnace. Having failed to obtain a supply of water at Comoro, Captain Sharpeigh touched at the Island of Pemba, the natives of which place treacherously attacked his men who were engaged in filling the water-casks. On the day after this attack he put to sea; during the night the Ascension touched the ground, but fortunately floated off without sus-

[1] MS. in the India Office, six and three-quarter folio pages. This account is contained in a letter written by Captain Sharpeigh to the "Right Wor^ll^ and Wor^ll^ Sirs". The date at which it was written is not given; and the place he was at, when writing, is only alluded to as "this place". On a blank prefixed to the journal there is this note:—

"*Laus Deo. On board the Trades Increase*, 5 *April*, 1612.

"Captain Sharpeigh to Captain John Saidry, Governor of the English Fleet in Moa Roads.

"Captain Sharpeigh cautions Captain Saidry against the false dealing of the natives, and relates the treatment he himself had experienced at the hands of the Governor of Aden. At Mocha he had spent two months without buying or selling. No doubt Captain Saidry will find the letters he has brought with him very effectual: yet he must beware of the Basha and Aga; they will talk him into landing his goods, and will

taining any damage. Next day three small native ships were captured, and some thirty men of their crews were brought on board the ship. These men were seemingly unarmed, but suddenly they with their knives attacked the Ascension's crew, for which they were either put to the sword or thrown overboard.

A further supply of fresh water was obtained at some islands in latitude four degrees ten minutes south.

Off the Island of Socotra the Ascension fell in with a Guzerat ship; in company with this vessel Captain Sharpeigh proceeded to Aden. At that city he was at first kindly entertained by the Governor, who, however refused him permission to return to the ship. Finally, Captain Sharpeigh "by a slight", got on board, first having promised to pay customs not only for the goods on shore, but also for those in the ship. The Governor insisted on sending Jourdain and Glascock to the Bashaw, from whom they failed in obtaining any redress, and he told them that in future he would not allow any persons to remain in those parts, unless they had the Grand Turk's command to him to do so.

From Aden Captain Sharpeigh went to Mocha, where Jourdain and Glascock rejoined him. From Mocha he returned to Socotra, where the Ascension lost all her anchors

then do him a mischief. Captain Sharpeigh hopes that this will be a warning to Captain Saidry."

Dated Babamandell, the 5th April, 1612. (Three-quarters of a folio page.)

"The Hollanders had factories at the four following ports on the coast of Coromandel, viz.—

"1. Carapatam in the Territory of Tanjore, 16 leagues from St Thome.

"2. Pellicatt, 22 leagues from Carapatam, and 6 leagues from St. Thome.

"3. Arremagam, 8 leagues from Pellicat.

"4. Pettipillie, 24 leagues from Arremagam."

save one. While off that island the pinnace had again parted company from the Ascension, being driven out to sea by adverse winds.

Having on the 20th of August, 1609, sailed from Socotra, the Ascension next anchored in a bay some thirty leagues south of Diwe. At that place no pilot could be obtained to carry the ship to Surat. On again setting sail the master shaped his course in accordance with the information which he had obtained at Mocha, from the pilot of a great ship of Surat, and also by a "Plott or draught of the Bay of Cambay", which the same pilot had given him. With frequent use of the lead the Ascension ran into 10, 9, 8, and, suddenly, 4½ fathoms of water. The master attempted to carry her across the shoal, but she struck astern, which, though no great blow, carried away the rudder. As she floated off her anchor was let go, which held her for some time; but during the following evening it gave way, when she struck frequently with great force, and began to leak to such an extent that in two hours all hopes of saving her were lost. At midnight, the ship's hold being then full of water, the crew, to the number of 78 persons, left her in two boats, and the wind being fair the next day they fell in with the land. At first they supposed it was the bar of Surat, but it proved to be that of "Gadavee".

There Captain Sharpeigh learned that the pinnace, having entered the river, had been seized by the Portugals, who "had no other thing save stones for their purchase", for the crew had, in anticipation of an attack, removed all the goods, and thrown the ordnance overboard.

"Some 40 miells up the river is the towne of Gadavie, where we landed, and were curtesly enterteined by the Governor, and the next day sentt us away, fearing the Porttingalls to come and take us from hime."

A journey of two days carried the company to Suratt, where they found W. Finch and three other Englishmen.

They were not allowed to enter the city, but remained in a neighbouring village during some fourteen days, after which time the party, except some of their number who had by stealth entered the city, set out for "this place".

After travelling for 18 days Captain Sharpeigh and his company reached the city of "Baramportt", where he was attacked by a fever. While he was ill most of the men left him, some for Surat, others for "this place".

Upon recovery he set out from Baramportt, having previously obtained a pass from "Caun Cauntt", the King's General in those parts. On the second day of the journey a cabinet containing the King's letters and some money was stolen: in hopes of recovering this cabinet Captain Sharpeigh returned to Baramportt, but failed to recover it. The General, who was much grieved at his misfortune, gave him a letter to the King, in which mention was made of the loss of the King's letters. With this letter Captain Sharpeigh again started, and arrived in safety at "this place", "where the King att presentt is not, but w^th^in these 20 dayes wilbe heare, untill when I know not how he will take the losse of ye letters."

Captain Hawkins was, by all accounts, in great favour with the king and nobles; the former had granted him the pay of 400 horse (with a promise to increase it to that of 1000), and the privilege of free trade.

Should the Company determine to trade in the Red Sea, it would be well to "procure the Great Turks Com^te^ and Copie of our priveledges, or elce there wylbe noe tradinge hither. Y^e^ portt must be Mocha, for Aden is a Towne of Garisone." The commodities of the country are not fit for England; but Indian goods were the same as at Aleppo and Alexandria, only better and cheaper.

There must be two Factors, one with the Bashaw at Cenaw,[1] the other at Mocha.

[1] Sana' â.

Ships for the Red Sea must be at the Cape in March or April, as then the wind is fair for the voyage to Socotra and Mocha.

Ships trading in the East must carry out with them pinnaces of force to enable them to embark their cargoes "despitte of the Porttingalls whoe ordinarily in the somer lye at the Bar, with 40 or 50 frigattes, that noe boatte can goe in or out w^th^out their license".

Captain Sharpeigh concluded by hoping that judgment on any charges brought against him would be suspended until he returned to England. If again employed he would serve faithfully.

There must be greater care for the future in selecting the crews of ships, both of men skilled in mariners' art, and of men of general good conduct.

SIXTH VOYAGE

SET FORTH BY

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY THE GOVERNOR AND COMMITTEE OF THE COMPANY OF MERCHANTS TRADING TO THE EAST INDIES TO LAWRENCE FEMELL,[1] THE PRINCIPAL FACTOR, AND THE OTHER FACTORS EMPLOYED IN THE SIXTH VOYAGE.[2]

I.

1. Directions to pay attention to the instructions contained in the general Commission, a copy of which was provided for the factors.

2. That much is expected from Femell, as Chief Factor, in consequence of the strong recommendations and high opinion had of him. That at whatever places he shall visit, or at which he may found a factory, he is to obtain full information relative to the manners and condition of the natives; the form of government; what commodities, especially woollens and other goods of home manufacture brought from England, are most vendible, whereby trade may be carried on without sending out money; also what should be the quality, quantity, colour and price of such goods, and, in regard to cloth, whether it should be high shorn or low, strained or unstrained; lastly to advise what other goods it may be expedient to provide.

3. To report the commodities of each country best suited to be sent home to England, or for trade at other places in the East. What trade the people have with other nations

[1] Lawrence Femell was a merchant in Keeling's voyage.

[2] Original MS., seven and a quarter folio pages.

neighbouring to, or remote from themselves; and what goods are used in such trade. To give the value of the coins of each country, and their respective weights, and also the different measures. Also to mention all other things with which it may be useful for the Committee to be acquainted. The letters containing such information to be sent home by the way of the Red Sea to Cairo, to the care of the "French Consull" there, and thence *via* Marseilles to England, or else by caravans through Persia and across the Caspian Sea. For greater security Femell is supplied with an "Alphabet of Caracter".

4. Should the vessels touch at Aden or Mocha, enquiries should be made touching those of the Fourth Voyage, to whom, if they have founded a factory there, every assistance (as far as might be convenient) should be rendered, and their attention should be called to the urgent command to forward letters to the Committee. If by letters or otherwise any hope of maintaining trade even in English goods be held out to the Committee, they will send other ships there. Femell is to dispose of his goods for gold or silver, if he can do so profitably.

5. Upon arrival at Surat, Femell is to enquire whether Mr. Wm. Hawkins, or any other person had settled capitulations (for trade) with the Great Mogul; and if such should be insufficient, he is to act as he may deem expedient, but he is also to obtain a safe conduct from the King of Cambaya to carry on trade; then, having disposed of the ships, he and such factors as he may choose are to repair to the Great Mogul to make further capitulations for peaceable trade at Surat, or elsewhere, "alwaies remembringe the honor of our king and contry, and the reputations of our negotiators in those partes". Further, the Committee have procured His Majesty's letters to the Great Mogul, the original and copy whereof Femell is to take care shall be delivered "with that honor wch maye be well fittinge soe greate a

monarche"; further he is to present "some honorable present" to the Great Mogul, and to some of the chief officers of the Court.

6. For his further information Femell is supplied with a copy of the privileges which Sir James Lancaster had obtained from the King of Achin, but he is not bound to adhere strictly to their purport.

7. Femell is to obtain information whether a factory may not be founded at Dabul, or Negratitti in the river of Sindus, or at any other port, where the shipping may be in shelter and be protected from the Portugals, and at which factory goods may be sold and stored.

8. To obtain information relative to the breadth, depth, ebbing and flowing of the tides, currents and shoals of the various ports; the cost of transporting goods from port to port, both by land and sea; and what customs and duties are payable at each port, as also anchorage dues, etc.

9. If there shall be at Aden any goods of the Fourth Voyage, or at Surat of the Third or Fourth, to be conveyed to England, such goods are to be shipped on board the vessels of the Sixth Voyage, care being taken to see that each package be properly branded. An inventory of such packages, as well as a record of all buying, selling, bartering, shipping, receiving, and transporting of goods, with an account of all other business, is to be kept in a register, of which a true copy (signed by four or five factors) is to be sent home by every opportunity.

10. Femell is to appoint the best qualified person under him to keep a journal and ledger; and another man to act as cashier, to receive and pay out all monies; also to assign to the other factors their respective duties. Further, he is to examine all their accounts every week, or oftener, and to continue or displace them from their posts as he may judge expedient.

11. "And because there is noe meanes more prevailent

to strenghthen and confirm the waies of the goodly in Righteousnes then the Spirit of God" . . . "wee exhorte you in the feare of God to bee very carefull to assemble together your whole familye every morninge and eveninge, and to joine together in all humillitie wth harty prayer to Almighty God for his mercyfull protection and favour unto you in all your proceedings."

12. As "civill behaviour" is very necessary to win the love and estimation of the natives, Femell is to see that there be no contentions or quarrels prejudicial to business, or casting scandal upon the professions and religion of himself and his company, and that none of his people give just cause of complaint to any man.

13. Special care is to be taken to uphold "the honor of our King and the reputation of our trafficke".

14. To advance the sale of goods at Surat to the utmost.

15. With any stock remaining on his hands, he is to purchase such goods as will be most vendible in England, and to have them ready for the ship's next sailing.

16. Such money as he may have in hand and be unable to invest in goods for shipment, he is to employ in trade in the country for the Company's benefit.

17. If at any of the places he shall visit, he shall find any of the factors of the third and fourth voyages, whom he may consider as better qualified for their births than those with himself, he is to continue them in their charges, provided that they are to expect no increase of wages beyond the amounts they had already agreed to; further, they are not to receive their pay until they return to England, or they may have it handed over to their relatives in that country, but while abroad they are not to draw for more than £10 or 20 marks per annum (at the rate of five shillings sterling for the rial of eight) to provide themselves with clothing: further, no factor is to be allowed to carry on private trade.

18. If any of the factors object to serve on these terms,

they are to be sent home to England on the first opportunity. As the Committee wish to obtain from Mr. Hawkins more particular information about the East, he is to return home as soon as convenient.

19. To be careful to buy the best sort of goods. Also all goods to be carefully packed, and each package branded.

20. Invoices to be sent home by every ship. The cost of all goods to be clearly set forth. Further, invoices of all goods and their value remaining on hand to be forwarded to the Committee.

21. To report concerning the pearl fisheries of Ormuz.

22. When Femell shall have repaired to the Great Mogul, or otherwise shall be settled in the country, he is to endeavour by the aid of the Great Mogul, or of his chief officers to obtain restitution for the goods seized by the Portugals in the river of Surat, and also the release of those servants of the Company then captives at Goa. Further, he is to try to procure a freedom from customs (both inwards and outwards) levied on goods and money, or at least money to be free, and a reasonable rate only to be levied on such goods as may be landed, all remaining in the ships being duty free.

23. Special vigilance enjoined with regard to the Portugals.

24. Two gold rings set with emeralds are to be disposed of as presents in such manner as may most benefit the Company.

In case of Femell's death, previous to arrival at Surat, John Fowler is to be chief factor, with Hugh Train, Benjamin Greene, Robert ——, Thomas Glemham, John Williams, Francis Slany, Rowland Webb, John Stoughton, and Baily Ball, to rank successively after him in case of further mortality: at Surat, in event of Mr. Femell's death, Mr. Hawkins is to be chief agent, the others to take rank after him.

If Mr. Femell survive till he arrives at Surat, or settles elsewhere in the East Indies, he is to name his own successor, making choice from the factors who accompany him as well as from those already out there. All obedience is to be rendered to the chief factor, and regard paid to priority of rank. If any factor be chosen to fill a position, the late holder of which drew higher wages, he is to receive no increase of pay, the Committee retaining to themselves the power to reward such factor on his return. Baily Ball is, if possible, to be given a better post than that of steward on board the Peppercorn.

Finally, Femell is to be careful to procure "anie rare thinges", as birds, animals, or other things fit to present to His Majesty or to the Noble Lords that are the Company's honorable friends. He is to forward such home in charge of careful men. If any mariner has any curiosity as abovementioned, and refuses to part with it on reasonable terms, Femell is to inform the Committee that they may take steps accordingly.

Signed by

S[R] Thomas Smith, Governor.
S[R] John Wattes.

Robert Bell.	Hugh Hamersly.
William Harryson.	Robert Middelton.
Robert Ofley.	Thomas Stiles.

II.

COMMISSION ISSUED TO SIR HENRY MIDDLETON AND OTHERS FOR THE SIXTH VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES.[1]

1. Appointment of Sir Henry Middleton to the command of the fleet consisting of the Trade's Increase, Peppercorn, and Darling.

2. Appointments of Nicholas Downton to be second in command; of Benjamin Greene to be chief merchant in the Darling; of Lawrence Femell to be chief agent at Surat; of Matthew Mullineux to be pilot-major on board the Trade's Increase. All of whom are to render due obedience to their superiors in rank.

3. Each ship's company to assemble morning and evening for prayers.

4. Blasphemy, swearing, thieving, drunkenness, and other disorderly conduct, to be severely punished. No gambling to be permitted, as the same generally leads to quarrellings and murders, and is provocative of God's vengeance.

5. A special order is to be issued "that noe liquor bee spilte in the ballaste of the shippe, nor fithines bee lefte within bourde", as the same cause illness, but special care is to be taken to keep the ships sweet and clean.

6. The general, lieutenant, and master of each ship to receive an inventory of all stores on board before the ship leaves the Thames, such stores to be kept under lock and

[1] Original MSS., seven and a quarter and fourteen and a half folio pages.

This volume contains copies of the Instructions given to Lawrence Femell, the chief factor; and of the Commission issued to Sir Henry Middleton, Nicholas Downton, and others, for their guidance during the Sixth Voyage.

The manuscript is injured throughout, a small piece at the foot of each page having been worn or torn away.

key until the ship is at sea, when they are to be handed over to the charge of the various officers who are to have charge of such. All stores to be entered in the purser's books when issued, and only to be issued on the warrant of the general, lieutenant, or chief merchant of each ship, such warrants to be duly registered by the purser.

7. The general and his master to issue such instructions to the commanders of the other vessels as may prevent the vessels getting separated on the voyage.

8. A journal to be kept of each day's navigation and of all circumstances that may occur. Such journals to be kept by the lieutenant, merchant, purser, pilots, and master's mates, who are from time to time to compare their notes.

9. At all places at which the fleet may touch, the general and other officers are to warn the men to behave civilly and peaceably towards the natives, so that supplies may be easily obtained. Discretion is to be used in eating fruits and fresh victuals, which the general is to have served out in moderation. The sick to be specially cared for. No straggling to be allowed at any place where the men may be sent ashore.

10. The general, merchants, and ships' companies to draw up an agreement in writing relative to the disposal of the possessions of such of their number as may die on the voyage, such goods either to be stored away until the ships return, or sold at the mast, in which case no man to be allowed to spend more than one-third of his pay. No buying, selling, or exchanging to be allowed on board. No man to be allowed to ship more goods than his chest will hold, such goods to be registered in the purser's books under pain of forfeiture to the Company. If a factor dies, his goods, books, and accounts to be registered by the purser and brought back to England.

11. For the preservation of health, as each cask is emptied of fresh water, it is to be filled with salt water.

12. On the passage between the Island of St. Lawrence

and the coast of "Sophola" care to be taken to avoid the "Flattes of India", upon which there are strong currents.

13. The General to use his discretion about refreshing at Saldania, or in the Bay of St. Augustine, the necessity of reaching Surat by the end of September being duly considered, as well as the chances of obtaining refreshment at Socotra, of purchasing the Aloe Socotrina, and of setting up the pinnace at that island.

14. The Committee recommend the General to touch at Socotra, as he may there meet Guzerats, from whom he may obtain intelligence about W^m^. Hawkins and the other factors left at Surat by the Hector. If the monsoon does not suit for the voyage to Surat, the General is to visit Aden and Mocha, at which places he is to buy only cloves, mace, and nutmegs, which are as valuable at Surat as in England. At Aden and Mocha he is to see that his men do not give offence to the natives.

15. Upon arrival at Surat every means is to be used to learn tidings of William Hawkins and the other factors. Upon any one of them joining the ship information is to be obtained from him relative to the state of the country, the reception the factors had met with, what privileges have been obtained, what goods are in most demand, and what goods are in hand ready for shipping: further, what commodities are there suited for England, or for Bantam, Priaman, Banda, and the Moluccas, and whether such can be shipped in time to enable the fleet to benefit by the monsoon; what force the Spaniards can muster; and how far the Guzerats may be inclined to aid the Company's servants. If any encouragement is given, the Darling, with Lawrence Ffemell, is to be despatched with all speed towards Bantam, etc.

16. The lead, tin, elephants' teeth, quicksilver, vermilion, sword-blades, red lead, cloth, kerseys, looking-glasses, and red caps (if expedient), to be sent up to Surat in frigates.

Before an agent goes up to Surat, the General is to consider with him and the other factors in what manner His Majesty's letters are to be delivered, and what presents are to be given and to whom. Such pieces of the velvet, provided for presents, as the General in his discretion does not give away, he is to sell; further, he may make use of some of the gilt plate for the former purpose.

17. If the former factors have not procured a house large enough to receive the people and goods, the chief agent is to confer with them relative to obtaining a larger building.

18. The question of despatching the ships and of selling the goods at current prices to be carefully considered, regard being had to the fact that the prices asked will be regarded as a precedent for the future. If it be thought better to hold such goods over, the lading for the ships (homeward bound) may be purchased with the money in hand, and such forwarded by the Peppercorn and Darling, if there be sufficient for both vessels; the goods of each voyage being marked and numbered separately. The most desirable commodities for sending home are indigo, both round and flat, of the best quality; calicoes, white, of good quality; calicoes, light-coloured, only the best qualities; strasses of all sorts; cinnamon, twenty tons of the best Ceylon, well packed; cotton-yarn, twenty tons of the finest, also five tons of a coarser quality; green ginger, four tons; red sa(ndal) wood, three tons; "Turbithe", two tons; opium, . . . pounds weight; Benjamin, ten tons, if it can be had at a reasonable rate; "Sall armoniack", two tons; olibanum, ten tons; lignum aloes, as much as possible; worm seeds; gumlac, both best and second qualities; and silk of Persia, a good quantity. Upon the despatch of the above goods to England, the General in the Trade's Increase is to proceed to Priaman, Banda, and the Moluccas.

19. At Priaman, the iron, calicoes, and pintadoes, are to be disposed of for gold, or pepper, of which latter four hun-

dred tons are to be purchased. Too much anxiety to purchase pepper must not be allowed to appear, nor the natives be allowed to imagine that there is much calicoe on board. From Priaman the ship is to proceed to Bantam and there discharge the iron, lead, calico, and cloth, and to ship silk only.

20. Upon arrival at Banda a suitable present is to be made to the Governor. Nutmegs and mace to be purchased, the latter to be of the largest and brightest description. While such are being provided the ship is (if convenient) to proceed to the Moluccas to purchase cloves ; then to return to Banda to ship the nutmegs and maces, and from thence (leaving factors and sufficient stock behind) to sail for Bantam, and there to take in silk and other goods for London. Then, having received invoices (signed by the factors) of all stock left at those places, the General is with all speed to get under weigh for England. The accounts of each adventure to be kept separately.

If at Surat there be no sale of the goods left there, such commodities are (when the monsoon suits) to be carried back to Aden and Mocha, and employed in the purchase of such goods as the junks may bring to those ports.

21. If there is no trade to be done at Surat, the General is to invite the Guzerats to meet him at the Island of Socotra, where there would be no customs to pay. If there be no employment for Femell and the other factors at Surat, they are to go to Aden or Mocha, or to such other places as the General may decide upon. Should the General sail for Bantam, he is to dispose of the ships as he thinks best, and Femell is to be left there as chief agent with some of the factors, the others to be placed at Banda; in this case, all the old factors, except Spalding and two others who have learned the language, to be removed from Bantam.

22. Such factors as remain on board the ships to be employed in weighing and paying for goods; nothing to

be done without their privity, and all business transactions to be entered in their books. Every night they are to make a report to the commander of the ship of all business done during the day, and they are also to compare their books daily with those of the purser to see that all goods bought have been delivered.

23. All business transactions at each place to be entered by the factors in books sent out to them for that purpose, such books to serve as records for their successors, and copies only of the same to be sent home to the Committee. None of the factors to be suffered to bring away any books of accounts, but only copies thereof signed by their successors and two other factors, such copies to be sealed up.

Further, the General is to obtain information relative to harbours and places (to prepare for the sale of English goods) about Dabul, in the River Sindus or Saree, at Cape Resolgate, or any ports on the coast of Arabia, free from enemies and affording kind entertainment, where the ships of the Company might meet those of the Moors, Guzerats, and other nations. The ports of Socotra being particularly recommended to him for that purpose.

24. No person who shall succeed by appointment or otherwise to any command or office, either in a ship or factory, shall take or be allowed the wages of his predecessor, but shall only draw his own salary without any further demand on the Company, unless the Governor or Committee of the Company shall be pleased to grant him a further allowance.

25. The Company will account it presumption for any factor to call himself captain without their express order to do so. Factors are to return as private merchants.

26. No cabins to be altered, nor other alterations made in the ships.

27. No increase of wages to be awarded to any person, but each person upon his return will have his case considered

by the Company. The General is not to remove any officer from his post without the advice of a council consisting of Nicholas Downton, Femell, and others, whom he shall consult. He is to consult the same with reference to all business of importance. On the homeward voyage he is to call to his assistance such members of the former council as may be on board.

28. No man to be allowed to indulge in private trade, nor to bring home more goods than will fit in a chest, the same to be registered in the purser's books, so that if any man die his friends may learn what goods he owned.

29. Unnecessary firing of salutes forbidden.

30. In case of Sir Henry Middleton dying, Nicholas Downton is to succeed him. In case of both dying, instructions in writing in a sealed packet are given with reference to the appointment of a new commander.

31. No persons, unless in the service of the Company, to be allowed to sail on board the ships for the East.

32. The General is to use his discretion in setting apart one of the smaller ships to trade from place to place in the Indies, and to carry home the cargo so acquired.

33. To prevent disorder either on the outward or homeward voyages, the General is forbidden (unless compelled by necessity) to allow any of his ships to touch at Falmouth, Plymouth, or Dartmouth.

34. Relying on his diligence and discretion, the Committee commit him to the protection of Almighty God.

Considering that a Commission was issued to Mr. Sharpy, General of the Fourth Voyage, to trade at Aden, Mocha, Surat, etc., and to found a factory where most convenient, and that it is reported that he had traded at Mocha, Sir Henry Middleton, upon arrival at Socotra, is to make enquiries about him, and to try by all possible means to forward certain letters to him and his factors, giving them a choice of being employed in the Company's service or of re-

turning by the first ship to England, in which case they are to bring some goods on account of the Fourth Voyage. If there shall be no tidings of them there, then enquiries are to be made at Bantam, Priaman, Banda, and the Moluccas, and if found the letters are to be delivered to them.

If the General in his travels can "convenyently come by anie rare thinges, as live birdes, or beastes, or any other thinge fit for us to present to his Ma[tie] or any of the noble Lordes, w[ch] are our honarable frendes", he is to send them home to the Committee in charge of careful persons. And if he knows any of the mariners to possess such, and to refuse to part with it, he is to inform the Committee, who will take steps accordingly.

Signed by

S[R] Thomas Smith, Governor.
Robert Bell.
Robert Middellton.
Thomas Style.
Hugh Hammersly.
Rob[T] Offley.

THE SECOND VOYAGE

OF

SIR HENRY MIDDLETON,

1610-1611.

BEING THE SIXTH SET FORTH BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.[1]

I.

The Trade's Increase, of which Sir Henry Middleton was General, the Peppercorn, and the Darling, accompanied by a store ship, sailed on the 1st of April, 1610, from the Downs. The fleet put into "Saphia"[2] Roads to obtain timber to fish the Admiral's mainmast, but failed to do so; and next touched at the Cape de Verde Islands, from whence they sailed on the 16th of May. At these islands the store-ship parted company from the other vessels.

On the fourth of July, "the wind being very much, and fowle weather, our shipe (the Peppercorn) was very leake in the bowes, and the water ran into the powder roome throw the sealinge and bulke head and was 5 foote deepe, and it wett us much powder. And the same day our Admirall borded us and brake our head, and bore her mayne-topmaste by the bord".

The fleet on the 23rd of July entered Saldanha Bay, and remained there at anchor until the 12th of August. In the Bay there was "a greate hollanse shipe, which was Admirall to 9 sayle, and by reason of fowle weather shee loste her company, being bound for the East India: and

[1] Sixteen and three-quarters folio pages. The entry for the 29th January, 1610-11, is the final one in this Journal.

[2] Called Saffee further on. Mis-written, probably, for Sallee on the coast of Morocco.

there were two sayle more, Flemens, that were fishers for trayne oyle."

When the vessels entered the Bay of St. Augustine, the Union was found lying at anchor, "for shee had road there six weekes. And she was in great distresse for want of vittles; so wee releved hir, for shee was homward bound, laden with peper, having in hir one merchante whose name was Mr. Bradshew, for the reste of the merchantes with the Captayne was betrayed at a place caled Zensebar".

Having on the 9th of September set sail from the Bay of St. Augustine, the fleet on the 25th of October anchored in Tamarida Bay,[1] from whence, five days, later, they sailed for Aden.

In compliance with a request made by the Deputy-Governor of the town Sir Henry Middleton, when he himself with the Trade's Increase and Darling sailed for Mocha, left the Peppercorn at Aden to carry on trade there. The Peppercorn, on the 17th of December, followed the other vessels to Mocha, but without several of her merchants and seamen, who having landed were detained by the Governor.

On the 22nd of December "the Generall departed from Moha[2] to Sinna[3] to the Bashaw, with divers of his men to the number of 30 and od persons, all besydes his smythes, carpenters and cockers, the which they detayned behinde there for the finishinge of the pinnis, but faste in irons, and dayly at there labor which was unmertifull and lamentable to heare, God comforte them". On the following day, Mr. Pemmerton succeeded in making his escape, and was picked up by a boat from the Trade's Increase.

On the 19th of January, 1610-11, the vessels, having crossed over from Moha, anchored off the coast of "Abasha" on the western side of the Red Sea. The people of this country were friendly, and supplied the fleet with cattle and fresh water. The King's son "certified us how that

[1] In Socotra. [2] El-Mokha. [3] Sana 'â.

the Turkes of Moha had willed them to betray us, and to cutt our throates, and not to let us have any thing for our mony".

On the 29th a letter was received from the General, in which he stated that Mr. Fowler, with the rest of the company who were with him at Aden, had arrived at Sina; and that he himself hoped in a short time to rejoin his ship.

II.[1]

The Trades's Increase, on board of which was Sir Henry Middleton, General of the fleet, the Peppercorn, and the Darling, sailed from the Downs on the 4th of April 1610, and having on the passage put into "Saffee in Barbery", arrived at the Cape de Verde Islands, from whence they departed on the 16th of May.

On the 18th of June, Thomas Love was transferred from the Peppercorn to the Trade's Increase. On that day "we had a great feast and a play playd".

The Peppercorn, during foul weather, ran into the Trade's Increase, but neither vessel suffered any serious injury.

On the 23rd of July, the vessels entered Saldanha Bay. From Saldanha they sailed to the Bay of St. Augustine, where the Union was found at anchor. She was homeward bound, and had lost her Captain and chief merchants at

[1] MS. in the India Office, twenty and a half folio pages. The Journal of the Sixth Voyage, kept by Thomas Love, extends from the 4th of April, 1610, to the 4th of December, 1611; but there are no entries for the period between the 13th of July and the 9th of October of the later year. The latitude, longitude, distance run, the course, and variations, are recorded in a tabular form. The entries, some for the month of February and a few for June, relating to the homeward voyage of the *Peppercorn*, are in a different handwriting, and are signed George Downton.

"Conggomare" in the north-east part of the Island of St. Lawrence.

From the Island of Socotra the fleet proceeded to Aden, which port they entered on the 7th of November.

On the 12th of December, the General with the Trade's Increase and Darling sailed for Mocha, the Peppercorn being left at Aden to carry on trade with the people of that town.

"The 14th day (of November), we took in a pilott to goe to Mocha, which pilott seat us ther aground. The Vise-Admirall came abord that night and told us that we should not fere, for the shepe would tack noe hurt. The 15th day they came with ther bottes and toak oute some of our goodes and vitteling to light the shep. The 16th day lickwis they came and took out more of our goodes and vittell. That night we staved 50 tune of water in our hold, and soe we hofe hur of the ground."

"This day (the 28th of November) att night, our Generall, with all our carpendoners and trompetters, our cornites, our master-surgane, our porser, with some of our marchantes, our chef marchant, and others of theme, with some of our sayleres to the nomber of 48, were all takene, some keld and many of theme hurt. Which night Mr. Pempertone with his botte and 9 of his company and his marchant were all surprysed at Mochoe in the Read Seae. Whatt time they came with 3 bootes fooll of mene in the night to have takene the Darlyng: but God be thanked, with the loss of 3 more of ther men abord, they putt them all to the worse and kelde some 27 of the Turkes, and bound many others; notwithstanding they knue nott of ther mistaking with the reast of ther men ashore, and our Generall with our men."

"22th day (of December) the Generall, with all our men saving the carpendores and hurt mene, went up to the Great Bashae, they all of them ridding uppon assnecoes with a very strong gard before and behind theme, ytt nott-

withstanding the mone shineng verye bryght, and they so strongly garded, Mr. Pempertone gave theme the slepe and drove his asse into a boush and mad downe to the watter side, where he found one of ther paddell ores and a boott riding, of which boott he getting possessione of, we having very fayer wether, he poutt himself. to the seae: when the next day being the 23th day, we se hime by a chance and so sent of our pennes and tuck hime up, he bing almost spent with rowyng afore he came to the boott."

On the 18th of January (1611) the three vessels sailed from Mocha "for the other side, which is the land of Etheopya, and there anchored". When a boat was sent ashore, a crowd of natives received the men on the beach, "of which company ther was one came downe, which was the Cheffest mens sonne of thatt place, howe badd theme very wellcome, telling theme what newes the Turkes of Mockcoe[1] had sent them, which was that we were pirattes and leved uppone the spoyell, and with this dessier, as they had taken our Generall with many of our cheffest men which we could nott well spare, so they in like sort should if they could by any meanes to betraye us and cutt all our throttes. This man comyng abord and certifying us of this newes sayd thatt what we lackt for any cind of vettelles they had, we should find them verye reddy to furnish us our watter, and towld us they retturnd this answere agayne to the Turke, that we being there with them, he myght doe his plessuer if he could: but they did nott mean anye such matter".

John Taylor, one of the Peppercorn's crew, deserted from his ship at this place, but the natives brought him back to the vessel. They also restored his knife, sword, and dagger, though they themselves were in need of such things.

The Darling, having in accordance with directions contained in a letter written by the General crossed over to

[1] Mocha.

Mocha, on the 11th of March rejoined the other vessels. There were on board of her thirty-six persons who had been released from thraldom.

On the 10th of May the Darling returned to Mocha, when the General with some fifteen others of the company escaped "out of the cruell hawkes handes" and succeeded in getting on board her. Four days later she was joined by the other vessels.

Mr. Femall, the chief merchant, died on the 29th of May. His body was by the General's order opened, when the cause of his death was discovered to be poison.

From the 14th of May to the 19th of June, Sir Henry Middleton blockaded the port of Mocha. He took possession of a ship from Diu, and some "Malybars" with other vessels. On the latter date the Sabendar and some other merchants made an agreement with the General to pay for the goods which were on shore. Part of the cargo of the Diuman was pledged as a security for the fulfilment of this covenant. The final payment under this agreement was made by the Sabendar on the 2nd of July, and on the following day the fleet sailed from Mocha.

* * * * *

In October the vessels were off the bar of Surat, when Captain Sharpeigh, Mr. Gordon, and two more of the Ascension's crew embarked on board the Trade's Increase.

During October and November there were several unimportant encounters with the Portugals, in one of which a "Portingal frigate" was captured, but most part of its crew escaped by swimming ashore.

The pinnace being thoroughly rotten was dismantled at the beginning of December.

* * * * *

On the 8th of February, 1612-13, the Peppercorn sailed from Pullopenjan for England. In June she passed the Island of St. Helena.

JOURNAL OF THE SIXTH VOYAGE,

KEPT BY

NICHOLAS DOWNTON,

1610-1613.[1]

On the 4th April, 1610, Sir Henry Middleton, in command of a fleet consisting of the Trade's Increase, his own ship,

[1] Original MS. in the India Office, 214 folio pages.

This Journal (a page or two only at the commencement being lost) gives a complete history of the Sixth Expedition from the 4th April, 1610, the date of its departure from England, to the 4th February, 1612-13, on which day the *Peppercorn*, homeward bound, set sail from Bantam. After the latter date, the Journal refers only to the fortunes of that vessel, concluding with the account of her arrival at Blackwall on the 19th November, 1613.

The writer of the Journal, Nicholas Downton, or Doughton, who was next in rank to Sir Henry Middleton, the General of the Expedition, commanded the *Peppercorn* during the voyage, with the exception of a brief period in the East Indies, when he had charge of the *Trade's Increase.*

Downton relates the events of the voyage from England to Aden, at which port his vessel lay for some time, and from thence to Mocha, to which place his Commander, with the other two ships, had preceded him. He records how at Aden part of his own crew, and at Mocha Sir Henry Middleton, with many of his men, were made prisoners; how some of the captives were released, while others made their escape; and the steps taken by Sir Henry Middleton to exact compensation. He then gives an account of the voyage from Mocha to Swally; of the events that occurred there; of various encounters at that place with the Portugals, owing to whose interference all attempts at trade were unsuccessful; of the insincerity of the natives; and of the manner in which his Commander righted their wrongs.

Downton next tells of the return of the fleet to Mocha; of the meeting of Sir Henry Middleton and Captain Saris, the Commander of the Eighth Voyage, and of their bickerings; of Sir Henry Middleton's attempt to exact further compensations from the Turks; and of his threats, that unless his demands were complied with, he would carry the

the Peppercorn, Captain Nicholas Downton, and the Darling, sailed from the Downs.

The fleet having encountered heavy weather the General touched at "Saffee" in Barbary, to repair damages, from which port he departed on the 21st April. On the 29th of that month the fleet were off the bar of the "Sinnego, wch river is the parting of Barberye and Guinea": from thence their course was shaped for the Cape de Verdes, where on the 1st May they anchored off the Inner Island, not far from a French ship.

Though the natives caught much fish none was purchased from them, the Expedition not having been provided with crystal beads, blue and white Counter . . . . bloodstones, yellow-hafted knives, bars of iron and bottles of aquavitæ, etc.; without which neither cows, goats, hens, wood, water, etc., could be obtained.

Here the Hollander which had accompanied the fleet from the Downs departed.

From the first to the sixteenth of May the crews were employed in effecting repairs and in transferring provisions

Indian ships with him out of the Red Sea, and so spoil their market for that year; and how the Indian Merchants, sooner than lose the entire profits of their ventures, paid over a sum by way of composition; and of the proportion of that sum received by Captain Saris as his share. Finally, Downton describes the voyage from Mocha to Bantam; the homeward trip of the *Peppercorn;* how, being short-handed with many men ill, he was forced by contrary winds to put into Waterford, where the inhabitants, hoping to force him to sell part of his cargo, refused to advance money on bills drawn on London, and how the Custom's officer of that port generously supplied his wants; how he himself was arrested (as a pirate) by the Lieutenant of the Fort of Duncannon, with his release, and the continuance of the voyage to Blackwall.

The latitude, course, distance run, direction of wind, and variations, are given in a tabular form for such times as the vessel was actually at sea.

References, too, are frequently made in the Journal to maps, for which blank spaces have been left, but of which not one has been filled up.

from the Victualler to the other ships. When the latter operation was completed, Mr. Tucker in the Victualler sailed for "Porta Dalli" to take in a cargo of hides, which a Dutchman had made a contract to supply: and the fleet also put to sea.

The king of the country about the Cape was called Ray Melli, "the confines of whose kingdome (by reason of my more earnest busines) I did omitt to enquire. His Officers wch take up his customes, if they had the true knowledge of God and care to serve him as they doe the sunne at his rising (and what more I know not), I should esteeme them happye people, being ritch in content wth what they have: they eate what the earth and sea yealdeth them wthout anye great paines: and for there apparell it is easilye provided, they going in a manner all naked: for their wives they keep one, 2, or 3, according to there abillitye, wch are as there chattels, wch if by dearth of corne (of wch is a kind of small graine called Meillo), or for anye other necessity, or for disobedience, or anye other misbehaviour, they may sell them to there most benifitt. These people in generall will beg earnestlye . . . . some of them will steale from white men, wch they call blanks, but I never heard, or knew of anye cruell deed done by them as to murther anye man for that he had."

"On the 22th daye at 2 in the afternoone there fell by us a spout wth aboundance of raine, and wind shifting about till 6 of ye clocke: and two dayes after we were pestered with manye showers of raine."

On the 18th June, Sir Henry Middleton invited Captain Downton "to dinner and to play"; on the same day Thomas Love a master mate was, by the General's command, transferred from the Peppercorn to the Trade's Increase.

The fleet encountered heavy gales on the 30th June and 4th July: during which latter gale the Peppercorn sprang a

bad leak in her powder-room; and again on the 10th July "at 7 at night a great frett of wether began wch continued verye vehementlye 16 houres". From that date the wether was fair until the 24th, on which day the vessels anchored in Saldanha Bay.

At that time there were lying in the Bay three "Hollanders, one whereof was bound for Bantam, and in her Peter But generall of 13 saile outward bound, who having spent his maine mast, and lost companye of his fleet, put into this roade for to refresh his sick men. The other two (having made traine of seales at Penguin Iland) bound home".

"Saldania is a baye some 14 leagues N.N.E. from the Cape Bona Speranza, and North by W. 10 leagues from Cape Falso, wch is eastward from the former, and may both be seene in the sayd baye; these 2 capes are also divided by another great baye, the distance betweene these 2 bayes is some 3 leagues, being low marshy ground, extending South and North, wch on ether side is environed wth mountaines. In this baye of Saldania, when you have brought the norther point thereof W.N.W., N.W. & by W., for a small ship N.W., thwart of the ledge of rockes (or watering-place) neare the shore, wch wilbe layed (as it were) in the swamp betweene the high mountaines called the Table and the Sugar Loafe, in 6, 5, or 4 fathom, according to the draft of our ship in cleane ground, and good anchor hold, you may safelye ride: Penguin Iland, wth his ledge, distant 3 leagues of bearing N.N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$, and stretching to the north and by W. of you in the roade. The maine land also, although it be 13 leagues distant, trenteth away unto the north and by west, so y^{t} there is little above 3 points open to let in the N.W. sea, wch is the greatest stormes."

[1] In the tabular statement of the course, etc., the wind on the 30th June is entered as N.N.E.; on 4th July as E. by N. and N.N.E.; and on the 10th of the same month as N. and W.N.W.

"Saldania having beene in former time comfortable to all our nation traviling this way, both outwards and homewards, yeelding them aboundance of flesh, as sheep and beefes, brought downe by the savage inhabitants and sould for trifles, as a beefe for an iron hoope of 14 inches long, and a sheep for a lesser peece, whereby weeke sick men in former voyages hath beene easilye recovered, and made strong, wch now (contraryewise) whither our trade heere were spoiled by the Dutchmen we heare found, who use to spoile all places where there come (onlye respecting there owne present occasions) by there overmuch libertys, or as they impute it the Frenchmen, who had lately beene heare to make traine, or whither the cattle in former times so aboundantlye brought downe were prayes taken by warre from one an other, or other differences wch might make them greedye of iron to make heades for there lances or dartes, wch now by peece or reconsiliation they may have little neede of: wch though it be but supposition, yet it is not unreasonable; but the true cause, for want of understanding in their language, I know not; but well I found y^t^ all the devises we could use by bribes or otherwise to them, wch daily came downe to our tents in faire wether, would procure nothing from them for our sick men's releife; and them 4 cowes, wch we did buy, were so old and so leane that there was but little goodnes in the flesh, for wch they would take no iron, but thin peeces of copper of 2 inches square, as seaven sheep at per peece 3 inches square of copper, cutt out of a kettle, whereof they make ringes by 6 or 8 together, wch they weare one there armes, wch being bright and smooth unto them seemeth verye brave."

"These people are the filthiest for the usage of there bodyes that ever I have heard of, for besides the naturall uncleanes (as by sweat or otherwise) whereto all people are subject, wch the most by washing cleare themselfes of, contraryewise these people doth augment by annointing there

bodyes wth a filthy substance, wch I suppose to be the juice of hearbes, wch one there bodyes sheweth like cowe doung; and the wooll of there heades is so baked like a scrufe of greene hearbes: ffor apparell they were before there privityes the taill of a catt or some other small beast, and a cloke made of a sheep skinne reachinge downe to the middle of there thighes, wch according to the wether they turne sometimes the harye side, and some times the drest side to there bodyes."

"There sheep hath no wooll but haire, and are p'tye coulered, like calves; there legs are larger, and there bodyes larger then our sheep of Ingland, but not so fatt."

"The princepall of these people (as ornaments) weare about the bight of there armes a thin flatt ring of ivorye, being very smooth and wrought compas, neare 16 inches wide, and on there wrist some 6, 8, 10, or 12 ringes of copper, bright and smooth, all ether fastened together or wrought in one: other toyes also, as bracelets of blew glasse and pearle shels, wch are ether presented them, or by idle people given them for estridge egshels, or quils of porcupines, wch wthout restraint the Dutchmen did ordinaryelye buy: also another most strange and filthy wearing, to what purpose I knowe not, as the guts of cattle about there neckes, wch makes them smell like a butcher's slaughter-house."

"In there hands they carye a small launce or darte, y^{t} hath a small iron head, and a fewe estridge feathers as a fann to keep away the flyes; they have also bowes and arrowes, but when they came downe to us they would leave them in some hole or bush by the way."

"They are straight made people, and nimble of foot."

"It seemeth that there habitation is moveable to places of best pasture for cattle, as in the vaileyes betweene the high mountaines, whose topes (far up in the country) were covered wth snow at this time; but those neare the sea-

side are cleare thereof, notwthstanding they are very high."

"Wilde beasts there are of divers sortes; but these we have seene; fallow deeres, antilopes, porcupines, land tortoses, baboones. Also the Dutchmen tould us of lions; but we sawe none; snakes and adders."

"Fouls also in aboundance, to witt, wild geese, ducks, pellicanes, passera, flemincos, and crowes, wch have in there neckes, as it were, a w^{t}band, and small birds greene coulered, and divers other sortes unknowne; also sea fowles, to witt, penguins, guls, pintados, wch are all spotted black and white; also a great gray fowle, the pinions whereof are blacke, wch the Portugals call Alcatrasses, and shags or cormerats at the iland in great aboundance; and another kind of foule like moore hens."

"Fishes there are of divers sortes; but these following have I seene, to witt, in faire wether, there are a small sort of whales in great noumber at the iland, seales in great aboundance: wth the saine we tooke fish like millets, being as large as a trout, smelts, thornebacks, and dogs: and one the rockes limpets and mussels in aboundance: in the fresh river the Union's men wth a saine caught aboundance of millets, as when we mett wth them they tould us."

"It is a verye holsome aire, and aboundeth wth good fresh water, both for filling in the road and for travellers in the land, wch in small streames descendeth from the mountaines."

"One morning, by my[1] instigation, my Generall and I, accompanied wth 23 men more, whereof 4 were small shot, went to see if we could find a place where we might cut wood, and being gone some 3 mile, and finding none but small greene wood, whereof we in the Peppercorne by reason of our great want were forced to cutt, my Generall, desirous to get refreshing for our weake sick men,

[1] Captain Downton's.

desired to walk about the table to see if we could see anye cattle y[t] we might by anye meanes buy for our reliefe, not thinking it would have beene so long a journeye, where we past through a most uneasye, unequall, stonye, unbeaten, and, as it were, overgrowne wildernes, wherein after we were to discend and ascend through manye deep and hollow water courses, overgrowne wth trees from side to side, w[ch] were made wth the raine's swift descent from the hill called the Table, and after a while found a beaten path, wherein we past, seeing manye pennes wherein cattle had beene kept, w[ch], for that it led forwards our ships, we were forced to leave, and againe had a most vile tiresome travell for a while, till we hitt of another path, w[ch] led alongst the mountaines towards the roade, and having past a while betweene the mountaines, as neere as they would give us leave, still following the beaten path, w[ch] was our best guide, at length we past over in the swamp betweene the southermost sugar loafe and the Table, at w[ch] time we had sight of the seaside, alongst w[ch] we went over the tops of the clifs, which at length we forsooke, going by judgment east towards the swamp betweene the northermost sugar loafe and the Table, where in the morning (after we had rested ourselves a little by a fire) we made hast, and past over the foresaid swamp, and before breake of daye we came to our tents, where we found all our men y[t] could be spared, disturbedlye in armes, divided into 2 com., the one half under M[r] Pemberton, determining at daylight to seperat themselves and again to meet on the other side of the Table to goe and meet us, w[ch] intent our approach did prevent: refreshing ourselves wth what our friends had prepared for their intended journey: all the daye we kept the Table one our right hand and the marsh one our left hand, w[ch] neare the mountaines is much pestered wth rockes, w[ch] have fallen from the top of the mountaine; it is moist ground, and seemeth to be good pasture for cattle; in divers places

scatteringlye wee see some trees of small stature, somewhat broad topped, bearing a fruite in bignes and proportion like a pine-apple, but the husk not so hard and spungye, the seed whereof were devoured by the birds, and the husk remaining on the trees; the leaves whereof were in forme of our houslick in England, but not so thick."

"At this time was there spring, both trees and all hearbes blowing over the earth."

"It much repenteth me y^t I came unprovided of all sortes of garden seeds, wch might be helpfull or necessarye for reliefe of anye Christians, wch heareafter might come hither, wch though the savages should somewhat spoile, yet y^t seeing such a beginning, every Christian capt. would seeke to augment and re-edifye the same: also acornes, wch in time may doe good to posteritye, for trees are not here so long a growing as in our could countrys. I will not contradict all such as will esteeme it idlenes in me to wish to sow where it is manye to one I shall never reape, yet for myself I esteeme it more idlenes in me y^t I had not beene so provident as to have sought meanes in England to have performed the same, and I would to God I could or had meanes to leave a profitable remembrance for Christian travelers unto the end of the world in anye place where I shall come."

"Now having to our utmost powre heare finished all our necessarye busines, to wit, watering, and some what releaved our weake sick men wth what refreshing we could get, wch was principallye mussels, we prepaired our ships to sett saile the 9th August, wch by contrarye windes was crossed, untill the 13th day following."

"The 18th day little wind, but a high light sea flowing one the top like breaches in should water: the 19th day[1] we had a verye strong gale of wind."

Some days after, having sailed from Saldanha, Captain

[1] The direction of the wind on the 19th is entered as W.N.W.

Downton, "by the General's consent", broached a cask of wine, from which five and a half gallons were drawn for the use of the factors and minister, and five quarts for Captain Downton and the master. The factors were not satisfied with this wine, and wished to have a fresh butt tapped for themselves, saying that they had heard that a cask had been put on board for their use (which they were unwilling to share with Captain Downton), and that what they did not drink they would carry on shore with them. Afterwards the General gave instructions that no wine should be served out to the factors, as none (contrary to what had been represented to him) had been shipped for their use.

On the 28th, Sir Henry Middleton having summoned Captain Downton and his master on board the Admiral, blamed the former for an error committed by one of the master mates for bearing too slack a sail one night, for which negligence the mate had been previously superseded.

The island of "Madagasker or S^{t}. Lawrence" was sighted on the sixth of September, on which day the fleet anchored in the Bay of S^{t}. Augustine, where "we found the Union of London, and the Vice-Admirall of the 4th voyage, whose people was distressed, wanting victuals for to carye them home: who related unto my Genn^{l} there infortunate loosing companye wth there Admirall and pinnance betweene Saldania and the Cape Bona Speranza, and never since heard of them: how they put into this baye (outwards bound) to seeke them, also followed after them and put into Zanzabar, an iland bordering of the Abexin coast, where the Portugals made shew of favour and trade, inticing them to land wth there boat, where they betrayed and tooke 3 of there men; the rest seeing there dainger fled wth the boat unto the ship, who proceeded on there journey till, wth contrarye windes before they could recover anye fitt port, for want of water were forced to retourne towards the Bay of Antongill on the E.S.E. side of Madagaskar, but the wind or there

course not suiting there determination, they put into a good harbor or Bay of Gungomar, on the north-west corner of Madagaskar, where they were awhile fed wth good words and faire promises and kind entertainment by the king: that in a short time the Cape merchant, in hope of trade for ambergreese and other thinges, grew so conceipted of this heathen kinge's plaine meaninge, y^{t} at the kinge's request went not alone to him, but perswaded his cap^{t} and other merchants to accompanye him, who, being brought to the kinge's presence, he sent also for the chirurgion, trumpet and drum, who, refusing to goe to him, presently there sallied out of the woodes a great number of people, wch attempted to force the boat and men in her wth dartes, arrowes, and lances, who perceiving themselves prevented by the good care and endeavours of them iu the boat, they pursued the boat wth armed canoas out of the river, untill by manye shot from the ship she was rescued. And fewe dayes after, while they lingered in hope of some good newes from there captaine, they attempted the ship wth a demye armye of some hundreth canoas, wch came in order and forme of a half moone, wch to prevent brought themselves under saile and shook them of, and departed one there journey. It seemed they could not fetch Soccatra, or the m^{r} unwilling to goe to the Reed Sea or Surat, but went to Achim, and there delt for some fitt commoditye wth the Guzerats, and from thence to Priaman to lade pepper, where the merchant made bargaine to receive it at Tecoa, an iland 3 leagues distant from Priaman, at 15, 14, 13½ rialls of 8 per the bahar of pepper; every bahar is 312 there."

"This ship the Generall plentifully supplied wth victuals, for whose reliefe he made the longer stay. He also united them in love on to another, who at our coming in were devided, to witt, Samuell Bradshaw for his sober, discreet, and provident cariage in the Companyes business, much envied by there factious m^{r} and his adherents, whom we left in the

same baye as seeming lovers and frends, I pray God continue it y[t] in the end it prove not prejuditiall to the Companye there imployers."

"In this baye we continued 70 howres: it is for the most parte all deep water, no ground in divers places (by divers' reports) in 200 fathom: by us further examining of depthes had beene in vayne; but we found all the south shore, in manner from the wester point to the high clif land, all flat, rocky, whose ledges are to be seene drie at lowe water, as in the draft I have shewed."

"At the easter end of the rockes neare the cliffe, we anchored in 12 fathom, and might have rid neere the shore in 7 fathom. We came in out of the sea wth a strong gale at south south west; but coming neere unto the land the wind dullerd, yet blew reasonable fresh in the daye, but in the night ordinarylye calme the time we were there; but yt being the new moone, w[ch] makes the fowlest wether in those countryes, I cannot say of other times. One the land it seemeth to be verye hott, especiall when the sunne is to the southwards of the equinoctiall."

"In this place are trees of divers sorts and kindes, some so full of a fatt sapp, y[t] fier being put to it as it standeth greene of it self, it will runn up blazing in the leaves and branches; the timber is soft, and the leaves and bowes yeeldes a yellow sap. Another sort also of trees whose timber is neare as hard as lignum vite, and of culler w[t] wth a small broune hart, whither anye kind of w[t] sanders I know not; y[t] wood, w[ch] we cutt of for fire wood in y[e] Peppercorne, w[ch] was the most plentifull of anye wood there, did all hang trased wth cods of greene fruict, as big as a beane cod in England, called Tamerin, it hath a verye soure tast, and by the apothicaryes is holden good against the scurvye; our admiral's men, who had more leisure, gathered some (while it was greene) for there particular uses. Heere is also plentye of an hearbe, wch for his forme is scarce to be

desérned from a Semperevive, whereof the Alloes Socotrina is made of all sortes; but I know not whither these savage people have ether the knowledge or use thereof."

"The people, by what occasion I know not, forbore to come to us, so y^t we gat no kind of refreshing, nether beif, nor mutton, whereof others hearetofore hath beene offered for a riall of 8 an oxe, but now it is sayd for waut of goverment in the Union when anye was brought downe, what the factor did providentlye forbeare to keep downe the prise, disordered fellows for their owne particuler gave what the savages demaunded, so y^t now they can scarce get anye for 10^s per peece."

"It seems y^t an all places of this iland men must stand on there guard, for the people are treacherous, yet by report stout and valiaunt, and not ignorant in ordering there people in battle raye, as it seemed by there order at Gungomar when they assaulted the Union: there weapons are bowes and arrowes, lances and small dartes, wch they carye in bundles."

From St. Augustine's Bay, the fleet sailed on the 9th September, and on the 21st of that month were carried by a current among a group of sunken reefs and small islands, called the "Carribas"[1] (between 10 deg. and 11 deg. S. lat.), from which they did not work clear for several dayes, and then having fallen in with a strong current were rapidly carried northwards till the 9th October.

These islands were surrounded by deep water; they were sandy, and for the most part covered with trees, and after dark every evening fires made by the country people were seen burning on the shore.

In consequence of the strong spirit of opposition manifested by the minister, factors, and one of the master's

[1] Possibly Galega Island in 10° 20′ S., which is inhabitable, and belongs to Mauritius. A gap in the middle gives it the appearance of two islands, and it is clothed with cocoa-nut trees.

mates of the Peppercorn against their Commander, Captain Downton, Sir Henry Middleton specially inquired into the cause of that state of affairs, which cause was that no larger allowances were made to them than to the remainder of the ship's company, and he had Thomas Herrod, one of the master's mates, removed to his own ship, to fill whose place Mr. Mollineux was transferred to the Peppercorn.

The islands called the "Dos Hermanos" (the Brethren) were sighted on the 17th October, and on the 19th the Peppercorn (the other vessels had previously anchored) cast anchor opposite the town of "Gallanzee".[1] There Captain Downton learned from Sir Henry Middleton that the latter had been told by the natives that the easterly monsoon having set in, the fleet could not for the next nine months proceed to Cambay.

The fleet, which had attempted to beat round to Tamarin,[2] again anchored on the 22nd October off "Gallanzee", where Captain Downton landed in search of water, and in vain attempted to hold communications with the people, who, he afterwards learned, were forbidden by the King of Tamarin (who allowed no communications to be held with strangers except through himself) to hold any intercourse with the fleet. At length on the 25th October the vessels anchored before the town of Tamarin, which town they duly saluted with five, three and one guns respectively.

Mr. Femmell was sent ashore, handsomely attended, with a present (consisting of "a faire guilt cup of 10 ounces, a sword blade, and 3 yeards of stamell broad cloth" for the King, who, surrounded by the principal of his countrymen, the Arabs, received him in an orange-tawny coloured tent at the waterside, and having accepted the General's presents, promised to supply water free and whatever else he could, for during two years no rain had fallen in the island.

[1] In Socotra. [2] Tamarida.

The King mentioned that the Ascension and her pinnace had both touched at the island on her way to the Red Sea, and on their return from thence they put in to obtain water and then sailed for Cambay; he further added, that the crew of his frigate, while at Bazaine[1] near Damon, had heard from the Portugals that both vessels had been lost, but that the crews had been saved.

On the following day, Sir Henry Middleton landed and was received by the King "in orderlye and civill sorte", but the latter appeared to be very unwilling to suffer the fleet to remain there (while the pinnace was being set up), saying that at sight of the vessels his own frigate and other ships, especially the Guzerats, would be afraid to enter the bay; probably, too, as at his own charges he had brought Arabs and others from all parts into the town to strengthen the garrison, he found the sojourn of the fleet expensive. Divers of the crews frequently landed and visited the King, to "the great consumation of his victuals and drink, wch though wth a goodwill to shew his love and bounty to be well spoken of by so forren a nation, yet by my conjecture he wch sheweth to be of so good an understanding and wisdome, so readye in all questions y^t^ hath been asked him by us, for far and neere, and y^t^ by a foreseeing eye, and how prejudiciall more liberty to his people to him may prove, can keep them in y^t^ extraordinary subjection, and by there misery to serve their owne tourne, he cannot but be cencible of his own profitt and estate, and to conclude, being in no hope of benefitt by us, must needs desire our absence".

"This King of Zoccatra is called Mulle Amore Bensaide, and now is heere but Viceroye under his father, who is King of Fartacke[2] in Arabia, not far from Aden, and comes into the sea at Cannicam."

[1] Bassein.

[2] The Sheikh of Keshin. Fartak is a point on this part of the Arabian coast.

The King refused to give Sir Henry Middleton a letter to the Governor of Aden saying that, as his own father was at war with the Turks, he would not do him so much injury.

"The people y^{t} he (the King) useth for his ho^{r} and strength in Zoccatra are the Arabs, the rest, y^{t} live in most servile slaverye, are the ould inhabitants of the iland, wch hath been banished people."

"There is pore merchandize growing uppon Zoccatra. Alloes Zoccatrina, wch they make about August of an hearb like unto Semperviva, wch we have in Spaine, but noe great quantity, not passing a tunne in the yeare; there is a small quantity of Sanguis Draconis, or Dragon's blood, a little whereof our factors bought at 1s. per lb.; and dates wch serve them for bread, wch the King sels at 5 rialls of 8 per C.; cattle for men's sustinance are these, buls and cowes at 12 rials of 8 per peece, goats at one riall per peece, sheep at half a riall per peece, and hens at half a riall per peece, all exceeding small, according to the drie, rockye, and barriness of the iland; wood is 12d. per a man's burthen, everye particuler is a verye deere penniworth; and what els the iland may yeeld I am yet to be informed of, but of rockes and stones drie and bare this iland seemeth to be contained of."

Having sailed from Socotra on the 28th October, the fleet next anchored off a sandy point some 19 leagues west from Cape Gardafui, where the Peppercorn obtained a supply of wood. The natives there, on learning that their visitors were Christians, fled from them. Thence the course was shaped for Aden, which city was sighted on the evening of the seventh of November.

"Aden is cittuate under the foot of an unfruitfull mountaine, a place where I should scarce have loeked for a towne, but it is there sett for strength, where it is verye defencible, and not by an enimye easily to be approached

by land, being well walled, fortified, and flanckered, and seemeth not easily to be wonn if the defendants wthin be men of resolution, and so yt it be formerly victualled and provided of munition, and to seawards though it be in manner drie at lowe water, there stands a high rocke somewhat larger than the towne of London, wch is not by ennimies to be in haist assended by reason it is steep and yt but one way by narrow steps to gett up where 4 men may keep downe a multitude, this rocke is so walled, flankered, and furnished wth ordinance, as it seemeth to me it may commaund both towne and roade, yet who will avoyde it may ride in 9 fathom water wthout there commaund, or wthin there commaunde from 9 fathom downewards; also a little distance to the northward of the aforesayd rocke is another rock being lowe almost even wth the water, wch is of small compas, whereon is a fort built and well furnished wth ordinance. The shouldiours usually containing in this garison I could never understand, but according as occasions they are drawne downe from other inland townes; the lowe country adjoyning wthin it doth supply it wth provisions, and partly wth there barques wch passe in trade from Aden to Barbora,[1] a towne right over on the Abexen[2] side, from whence they bring cattle and much fruit, and provision wth mirh and insence, and what els I must conceale till further information gotten".

"This towne standeth in the latitude of 12d 35, the variation westerly is 12-10, it floweth by estimation upright betwixt 6 and 7 foot water, on the change day at S. E. b. E., or N. W. b. W. moune maketh a full sea. This mountain, at whose foot the town standeth, is a peninsula pointing out into the sea, as in the draft following shall appeare,[3] and towards the maine is first a narrow neck of sandy ground, and wthin of the like a large marsh-like ground stretching

[1] Berbéra. [2] Abyssinian.

[3] The page left blank.

up to the mountaines, wch may be from the towne 16 or 20 mile."

As soon as the fleet anchored, the Governor sent an Arab to inspect the ships, who, on the following day, boarded the Admiral to inquire who and what they were; at the same time, "Jno. Williams and Walter the trumpetter, linguists", with others, were sent on shore with a present to the Governor, whom the Turks received seemingly with great joy, but whom they did not permit to enter the town, entertaining them without the gate near the waterside; nor did the Turks make any mention of trading, but pretended that they daily expected the arrival of some 30,000 soldiers, a strangely large force for so barren a country to support, which statement was plainly suggested by fear.

The General's request for a pilot to carry the fleet to Moha[1] was made known to the Governor, who returned answer that he was only deputy to the Meer or Governor, who was expected to return on the following day from the country. He also sent Sir Henry Middleton a present of "2 Barbora sheep wth broad rumps and small tailes", some plantains and other fruit. As no pilot, but only fair words, was supplied, the General set sail, whereupon the Deputy-Governor sent a message entreating him that if he himself, with his fleet, would not remain at Aden, at least to leave one vessel to carry on trade "wth glozing shewes of Indico, Ollibanum, Mirh, and divers other things". In compliance with this request, Sir Henry Middleton brought the fleet to anchor athwart a bay to the southwards of the town, the current preventing a return to their former anchorage, and landed to make enquiries about the changes in the current. The Deputy Governor appeared to be enraged by this action, pretending to think that it was done to discover the strength of the place, and with no good intent, insomuch that John Williams, who was then on shore, felt

[1] Mocha.

grave doubts about being allowed to rejoin his ship; but the Meer, who was present, did not seem to be so rigorous, using fair words, and granting a pilot, yet requesting that one ship might be left there, adding that the town, by former ill-government, having lost all trade, he was desirous of re-establishing its commerce; and further, that he himself was subordinate to a Bashaw, who, if all the ships should depart without trading, would blame him for driving them away. Deceived by the partial truth of this statement, Sir Henry Middleton promised to leave the Peppercorn behind him at Aden.

As no pilot was supplied by the Governor, but only empty excuses for not doing so, the General, with the Trades Increase and Darling, sailed for Moha, having previously instructed Captain Downton not to land any cargo from the Peppercorn, since if the natives would not trust one of their "raskall people" (without receiving hostages for his return) on board to act as pilot to Moha, then not to trust them with any of the goods on shore, but to make them pay for such on board; and should they be suspicious of evil dealings, in that case to exchange hostages of a like quality. Should these terms prove unacceptable, the Peppercorn was to follow the fleet to Moha.

The Peppercorn having been warped in nearer to the town, the Governor summoned the merchants to wait on him, and when, from Mr. Fowler, John Williams, and the purser, he understood the purport of Sir Henry Middleton's instructions, he became violently enraged, and detained them on shore, under pretence that he held them in pledge for anchorage and other dues, for which he claimed "1500 Venetians of gould, every one at $1\frac{1}{2}$ riall of 8".

From the 13th November to the 16th December, the vessel lay before Aden continually exposed to danger from storms. During that time Captain Downton had all goods yet in readiness, if it should have so happened that in the

end he might have found sale for any part thereof; but without landing cargo to pay the 1500 pieces of gold, he was unable to procure the release of his merchants, which he hoped that the General, by making interest at Moha might secure. He himself, if he could have procured their enlargement, would gladly have proceeded to Moha, for "by dreames by night, and disturbing motions by day," he greatly feared that all was not well with his commander: yet having been left at Aden to seek trade, which was not refused, but promised so soon as goods were landed, he feared that, if without any apparent reasons he should abandon the place, the factors would say that he was "more fraid then hurt", and that had the goods been landed, a profitable business might have been done.

Captain Downton every two or three days sent his boat ashore to enquire about his factors. Those of the men who landed were courteously dealt with, the soldiers frequenting their company, and interfering in their behalf if any man, Jew or Banian, attempted to impose on any of them, and frequently strangers (who were soldiers called in from the neighbouring towns) were pointed out to them as merchants who had come in to see had any goods been landed. This, no doubt, was done to create a feeling of confidence, of which advantage might have afterwards been taken; but during this time none, except chosen by the Governor, were allowed to hold any intercourse with the ship, lest too much information might have been obtained from them. Notwithstanding that state of affairs, Captain Downton learned that "This citye in times past hath beene great and populous, but at this time the houses, both great and small, are greatly ruinated and sunke in everye part of the towne, of shops of merchandize there is none of anye accompt, merchants none to be discerned worthy of y^t^ calling, for money seemeth to be verye scant among them, wch appeared when our men offered to change a peece of 8 for aspers, they use

to take it from hand to hand, gazing as at a strang thing, an ill signe in a place where a ship's lading of merchandise is brought to sell."

As the time for the then Governor to depart drew nigh, he was anxious that part of the Peppercorn's cargo should have been landed, and frequently he commended the confidence exhibited by Captain Sharpheigh, of the Ascension, who had boldly landed his goods; but this did not influence Captain Downton, whom the detention of his men had made suspicious, and who, in consequence, only allowed a few men at a time on shore, "wch restraint drewe on me much secret envye and backbiting clamors amongst my unbrideled people, w^{ch}, by importunities, had almost tired me".

During a temporary absence of the Meer, the captives fared ill, but on his return he visited them in their prison, and had their wants supplied at his own cost, and further informed them that, as soon as their countrymen should begin to trade, they should have their liberty without making payment of the 1500 Venetians, also, "the custome was 5 in the 100^{lb}," all other charges reasonable, ready gold for all goods sold, and that they might send one of their own men in company with a guide provided by him with letters to Sir Henry Middleton.

Accordingly, Captain Downton wrote to Moha to the General inquiring what sales the latter had made, the prices of goods, what customs and other duties were payable, and what dangers lay between the two towns; also, informing him of the imprisonment of the merchants, and asking advice as to how far he himself should put faith in the Turks. To this letter no answer was received.

Permission having been obtained from the Governor, some of the crew were sent on shore to make cordage, and, on the 12th December, these men were treacherously seized, some put in the stocks, others tortured, and all of them ill used. By this act, Captain Downton lost "2 merchants, a

purser, and one to attend on them, a gading apothecarye, my chirurgion, and my Mr. Caulker (who caried my lre to Moha as aforesayd), my boatswayne and one of his mates, 2 quarter maisters, the cooper, carpenter, gunner's mate, and cockswaine, and 5 more of his gang, which in all are 20 persones, some fewe for there pleasure, the rest to worke, save the gang who were most of them appointed to keep the pinnace, but being out of my sight they did what they list, and the boatswaine seemed to want there help about his ropes".

Captain Downton was much grieved by this act, and could only account for it by supposing that the old Turk was leaving suddenly, and had adopted this course to force immediate payment of his demands, especially as the latter gave out that he would, if payment was not at once made, hang the prisoners on the beach. Captain Downton then enquired why his men had been so injuriously treated, their respective kings being in league, and how could he with security pay the money demanded. Thereupon it was arranged that the long boat should lie between the ship (but within range of her guns) and the shore, and that as the captives were brought off to her a proportionate sum of money should be handed over. For some unknown reason the Turks did not keep this arrangement, and as there did not appear to be any chance of recovering the men, as well as being rendered uneasy about the safety of his countrymen at Moha, Captain Downton, having previously, as far as practicable, provided for the wants of the captives, sailed on the 16th of December for Moha, where he anchored on the 21st of the month, not far from the Trades Increase.

On the 20th December there had been an eclipse of the moon at four in the afternoon.

As soon as the Peppercorn was moored, Mr. Thornton, the master of the Trades Increase, boarded her, and informed Captain Downton of the events that had happened

since the vessels separated at Aden; that the Trades Increase had, whilst in charge of a native pilot, run aground near the town, and that most of her stores and cargo had to be landed to float her off; that the Turks exhibited much seeming kindness; also, that Lawrence Femmell, of all others, seemed most fearful, so that in a private boat he speedily carried all his things ashore, and that after much labour the ship was floated off. Further, "y^t^ this part of Arabia, from Shaher, being neare 30 lea. from Aden eastwards, and up the Red Sea from Camerat, wch is 70 leagues w^th^in Bab mendell, and I know not how far w^th^in land, is called the land of Yeamon,[1] and now governed by one Jeffer Bashaw, whose residence is in the citye of Sinan, wch they acc^o^ to be by moderate travell 15 dayes journey by post; I think they goe and come in this time. And the Governours of Aden and Moha, wch is treble the better place in y^t^ it is of more resort of ships, and these Governours are yearelye placed by him, wherein he prefers not men of vertue and good parts, but anye by whom he may gaine most benefitt, as at present in Moha is one Regil, Agaw by his place or office, who was his servile slave attending on him, and he was preferred to Aden, where he commaunded the other yeare, when Capt. Sharpeigh was there, and for y^t^ he was a beneficiall knave to his Mr., he was preferred to Moha, a better place.

The Agaw provided a house for the merchants, and urged them to have the cargo landed, and when he saw that no more goods would be carried ashore, he pretending great friendship, stated that it was customary for the captains of all ships visiting his town as a pledge of greater security to receive the "Grand Senior's Vest", which being once invested in, no man after durst offer any wrong, and that unless Sir Henry Middleton would conform to this custom, he would be obliged to look upon him with distrust. The

[1] Yemen.

General, though he put little faith in the Agaw's honesty, yet considering that for eight months the ships must lie there, that the Turks had it in their power to withhold or supply water, that the navigation of that sea was unknown to him, and having received a message from Mr. Femmell that his presence on shore was absolutely necessary for the despatch of the Company's business, consented to go through the ceremony. When the General landed he was met by the Governor and principal men of the town, carried to the Governor's house, where he was clad in a rich vest of cloth of gold, and a horse richly furnished provided for him, which the Governor held while he mounted: after this ceremony, solemn protestations of friendship were made. Deceived by these practices, and having regard to the long time he would have to remain there, Sir Henry Middleton asked permission from the Governor to set up the pinnace, which had been brought out from England ready framed. This request was at once granted. To carry on this work more quickly, Sir Henry Middleton, with the carpenters, smiths, and other workmen, lived on shore.

On the 28th November, Regib Agaw, to make the General feel more secure, sent word that he had received a favorable answer from the Bashaw, but on the evening of that day the party on shore, consisting of Sir Henry Middleton, Mr. Pemberton, and others, were attacked and made prisoners, to the number of 59 persons, besides eight others who were killed. That same night an attempt was made to surprise the Darling, as that vessel lay closer in to the town than the Trades Increase. "The Turks coming abord and seeing no man stirring, thought themselves surelye possest of her, murthering the trumpeter, whom they found aloft asleep, but in the end our mercifull God turned there pretended mischief towards us uppon there own pates, and made them fall into the pitt y[t] they had made for us, for in repelling these unexpected ennimies (though to the loss of

2 more of their owne men, who were slaine in the conflict) were slaine and drowned in the flight of the Turks 27, whereof the Admirall of the towne, who was their leader, was also one." The Darling then weighed, and ran closer to the Trades Increase. From the 28th of November till the 15th December, owing to storms, there was no communication with the shore. On the latter day, John Chambers, a quarter-master of the Trades Increase, was sent on shore with a flag of truce: he found the General and company chained together in a most inhuman manner, yet at his return brought hopeful news of the probable release of all except Sir Henry Middleton and Mr. Femmell, who were to be sent to Sinan to the Bashaw. On the 17th, the same quarter-master was again sent on shore, but the news he brought back was not good. This much did Captain Downton learn from Mr. Thornton.

Captain Downton, on the 21st, sent a letter to Sir Henry Middleton, who sent back an answer, directing him, if possible, to leave the Red Sea, and to await further intelligence at Aden; also adding, that he himself and six others were to be sent off to Sinan[1] on the following day. On which day the General, with all his company (the carpenters, who in chains were forced to work at the pinnace, and wounded men excepted), under a strong guard, were despatched on their journey. Notwithstanding the escort, Mr. Pemberton during the evening effected his escape, and having found a canoe on the beach, he put to sea, and on the following morning was picked up, in a very exhausted condition, by a boat from the Trades Increase.

The Darling having previously rejoined the other vessels, the fleet, on the 2nd January, 1610-11, sailed from Moha with the threefold intention of relieving their ground tackle, procuring fresh water, and of detaining any Indian ships which should enter the Red Sea, and thereby to compel the Turks to release the captives. Stress of weather forced

[1] Sana' â.

the Peppercorn and Trades Increase back to Moha, whence, when rejoined by the Darling, they again sailed, and on the 19th of the month anchored off the Abexin coast.[1] The country people at that place were friendly, and daily brought down to the seaside sheep and goats for sale. The king's son, who visited the Trades Increase, informed Captain Downton that the Turks had sent him word of what they had done at Moha, and had urged him to follow their example.

Captain Downton sailed from this anchorage on the 28th January, but returned there on receipt of a letter from Sir Henry Middleton announcing the safe arrival at Senan of himself and his party, as well as of Mr. Fowler and his company from Aden, "how God had raised him frends amongst the mids of his enimies, to witt, the Riha, who is next in degree to the Bashaw, wth divers others"; further, as yet, not to meddle with the Indian ships, as it might prove prejudicial, not only to him and his company, but also to those who trade in the Mediterranean; and lastly, that the Bashaw had cleared Regib Agaw of the treachery perpetrated at Moha, by stating that it was done by his command.

To this letter Captain Downton replied by stating that, in obedience to the General's wish, he would not detain any vessels, although it had been his intention to do so; that Mr. Pemberton was in safety, and that the fleet was moored off the Abexin coast, opposite Moha.

The Trades Increase, which had been despatched to Moha, returned to the Road of Assab with a letter from Sir Henry Middleton, again requesting Captain Downton to abstain from taking revenge; also, that the General himself and his company were in five days' time to start on their return journey to Moha: and also announcing the death of John Baker and Richard Elsmore.

At that place John Taylor, of the Peppercorn, deserted,

[1] Abyssinian coast.

but was brought back by the natives, for which they received a suitable reward.

Another letter was received from Sir Henry Middleton on the 2nd March, explaining that his journey was delayed, partly on account of a solemn feast which was nigh at hand, partly to have the company of the "Shawbender" of Moha for safer travelling, and also that the carpenters were to cease work on the pinnace, as the Bashaw intended to detain her for his own use.

The Darling was despatched to Moha on the 5th by Captain Downton, to seek for tidings of the General: in the road she found a large ship of Dabul, called the Mahumettded. As she did not return for some days, Captain Downton got the other two ships under sail to cross to Moha, when on the 11th she rejoined them, having on board 46 of the captives who had been released, and a letter from Sir Henry Middleton, in which he expressed a hope of being released as soon as the Indian ships had arrived; also stating that Richard Phillips had turned Turk; and finally, asking advice whether he had better make his escape, or wait till the Turks should let him go.

In accordance with a wish expressed by Sir Henry Middleton, Captain Downton, in the Peppercorn, crossed over to Moha, where on his arrival he found only the ship of Dabul. Immediately on his arrival, the General sent off a letter requesting him to put to sea again, as the Dabulmen were alarmed at his presence, and the Agaw displeased.

In reply to this letter, Captain Downton wrote two to the General, in one of which he pointed out that the Turks were not worthy of belief; that they meant to detain him until the ships had discharged their cargoes, and consequently there would then be only the empty vessels to seize when he would be sent on board, or held at ransom, or sent back again to Senan,[1] and thence to Stambola.[2] The second letter

[1] Sana' â. [2] Stamboul.

was meant for the Agaw's inspection, if Sir Henry Middleton had been pleased to show it to him; in it, Captain Downton declared that so long as the General was a prisoner on shore, he had no command over the vessels, but that he, Captain Downton, could do whatever he deemed expedient.

Sir Henry Middleton, in reply, said that he himself was as loath to remain at Moha as Captain Downton was to leave him behind; but that he had agreed with the Bashaw that his vessels should remain absent from the road of Moha till after all the Indian ships had arrived, then, as soon as the westerly winds had set in, he and his company were to be liberated: that he was unwilling to be the first to break this agreement, but should the Turks fail to keep it, then Captain Downton should act as he thought best: that if he, Sir Henry Middleton, had any idea that the Turks meditated fresh faithlessness, he would make his escape, as he had had and still had means of doing so, had he not been unwilling to bring his people into danger: that he had already formed a plan of escape, but that Mr Femmell would not be persuaded to join in it, being fully convinced that at the first coming of the westerly winds they would all be sent on board: that till those winds blew, Captain Downton was to remain in his own quiet roadstead on the other side of the Red Sea.

In obedience to this letter, Captain Downton sailed from Moha, and on the 21st anchored under an island to the northwards of the Bay of Asab, alias Margabra, where a few days later he received a "verye carping and most distastfull letter, wch shalbe needles to recite", from Sir Henry Middleton, clearly the result of a misconstruction of his former letter. In this letter, the General directed that the Darling should return to Moha to re-ship the provisions, and that the Turk, who was a prisoner, should, if it was safe to do so, be sent over in the Darling.

To this letter, Captain Downton returned answer, that he was much grieved at the construction Sir Henry Middleton

had put upon his former letters, which were intended for his private perusal and not for that of "anye malitious or feare-blasted fellow to cant, construe, or cavell at": that he could write nothing so plain but that malicious persons could twist the meaning thereof; for the future, although he could make all points clear, he would be sparing of writing: and, finally, that Sir Henry Middleton might rest assured that all his orders would be thoroughly obeyed.

Sir Henry Middleton replied with a "very kind" letter, asking Captain Downton not to take the worst view of his last melancholy letter: reiterating his hope of being shortly released, but that he also had means (in case of need) for effecting his escape: and giving directions to have the three vessels careened. This latter direction Captain Downton had carried out as quickly as possible.

On the 20th April, Captain Downton wrote to the General, stating that pitch, candles, and lamp oil were much needed, that the money was being quickly spent in the purchase of fresh provisions, and asking that some coarse cloths should be sent over to him, by which means money would be saved and the natives better contented, that many of the men were ill, and no means left to recover them, the medicine having been carried on shore and lost at Aden.

The King of Rohela, having sent down a present of a fat cow and a slave to Captain Downton, the latter despatched George Geffe as bearer of a return gift, consisting of a damask cloth, a piece, and sword-blade, which he presented to the King at his town of Areta.

On the 24th April, the Darling returned from Moha, having with her the pinnace that had been seized at Aden, the articles which Captain Downton had written for, and a letter from Sir Henry Middleton, in which he reported the arrival of several small vessels from Swes,[1] and one great ship richly laden, from which he hoped to have recompense

[1] Suez.

for the loss of time and detention of the goods (the murdering of the men excepted): he again expressed a hope that the Turks would keep their promise, but should they fail to do so, he doubted not being able with his company ("God strengthning them") to cut their way to the water-side; and, the boats being held in readiness, thus to escape: also that the ships were not to be careened (as to do so would require too much time), but to be trimmed and scraped as far as possible under water.

As the westerly monsoon did not set in at the time Captain Downton expected it would, on the 9th May he sent the Darling to Moha with a letter for the General, informing him of a rumour he had heard from a Budwee lately returned from Moha, that the Bashaw had sent to Swes for 25 gallies, and had also directed the Agaw to make agreement with the Indians for their ships to arm them, either to attack the three ships, or to resist any attempt made to liberate the captives; also asking for further instructions.

Sir Henry Middleton, with 15 more of his company, made his most happy escape to the Darling on the 15th May, and at once despatched the pinnace to let Captain Downton know of his being at liberty, and to direct him to repair to Moha with the Peppercorn and the Trade's Increase.

Captain Downton's reasons for having remained on board his own ship in preference to taking command of the Trade's Increase were, that he felt so confident of procuring the General's release, either at the change of the monsoons, or the coming of the Indian ships: also that he had perfect confidence in the master, Giles Thornton, but that had he himself left the Peppercorn, matters would not have gone well on board of her.

Sir Henry Middleton immediately instituted a strict blockade, so that no boat dared to leave the ships or the shore without having first obtained his permission, so that "Regib Agaw of Moha began to sing a new song".

When Captain Downton and the General met, the latter related the manner of his escape; that upon the arrival of the Indian ships he had sent to the Agaw, from whom he had received a harsh and careless answer, which determined him to make his escape; in pursuance of which determination he directed Mr Pemberton to send ashore a quantity of wine and aquavitæ. On the 11th, the Agaw, in great pomp, rode forth from the town to his garden house, on which occasion he (the General) had given much strong drink, to which by stealth they were much inclined, to his guards, so that by the height of the day they all returned to their houses to rest; then he explained to such of the company as could be trusted his plans, directing them to walk down to the water-side, some one way, some another: he himself, concealed in an empty butt, was carried down to the pinnace, and succeeded in picking up from the beach some 16 of his men before the Turks interfered: Lawrence Femmell, Chief Merchant, "whose unweldye fatnes" hindered his enlargement, and divers others, had to be left behind.

Upon rejoining his own ship, Sir Henry Middleton was saluted by the other vessels, and presently waited upon by Nahuda Mahumett, a Malabar, captain of a ship of Calicut, and divers others from the Agaw, to capitulate peace, but no mention was made of any compensation for the losses incurred. The general did not demand much at first, lest by doing so he might fail in obtaining all, his intention being first to recover his men still on shore, and the newly built pinnace. The Agaw answered, that he himself could do nothing, his position being precarious, and asked for fifteen days' respite to communicate with the Bashaw: as to returning the pinnace, that was impossible, it and all goods being held for the Grand Seignior.

On the 18th May, the General seized a gelba, and a ship of Diu, which belonged to Shermall, Shabender of the Baneans in Moha. The passengers and pilgrims who were on board the latter he sent ashore.

The Agaw, on the 25th May, sent word to Sir Henry Middleton that he had received the Bashaw's answer, and that the men and pinnace would be sent on board next day, on which day Nahuda Mahumett, accompanied by the principal Banean merchants, boarded the Admiral, whom the General, the men and pinnace not having been restored, detained, directing them to write to the Agaw to explain the reason of their detention. This they declined to do, but promised, if they were allowed to depart, to return in the evening with the men, which they did, also bringing the General a present of a rich vest from the Governor. This present Sir Henry Middleton was at first inclined to decline, but was persuaded into retaining.

Mr Femmell died on the 29th May, seemingly of poison. Before his release, he had been invited by the Agaw to a feast, on which occasion he incautiously threatened to make complaint of his wrongs at Stambola. At parting, the Agaw, with a smiling countenance, said they would meet at Stambola.

The pinnace having been restored, was named the Relief, and George Geffe put into her as master.

Having recovered his men and pinnace, Sir Henry Middleton next demanded the restoration of his goods, and of Mr Pemberton's boy, who had been forced to turn Turk. The Agaw's reply was a request for 15 days' respite to consult the Bashaw. A few days later, the General received a visit from Allee Haskye, whose mission was to learn the sum demanded as compensation, which sum was 100,000 rialls of 8.

The Darling was despatched on the 8th June to Belowle, on the Abexin coast, some 10 leagues northwards of Assab, to procure water and provisions for the relief of the men, "who now began to fall sick of a faint disease, the best remidye for wch, as we found, was letting of blood and purging of the bodye; this disease went away in boyles and scabs, and this disease no man escaped".

On the 19th June, Shermall, Shabender of Moha, accompanied by many of the chief merchants of the town, and Allee Haskye, and Tacacee, a Banian, in state, with divers sorts of music, visited Sir Henry Middleton to arrange terms for the restitution of the goods: which terms, considering that there was no chance of getting more, and that what would be paid would come out of the pocket of the Shabender of the Benians, who had been such a good friend to the captives, were that the lead and iron should be returned, and that a sum of 18,000 rialls of 8 should be paid in compensation for the other goods; that, as there was not so much money in the town, part of the Diuman's cargo should be accepted as security; and that that vessel should then be allowed to draw in nearer to the town to dispose of her remaining goods: that the final payment should be made within 14 days. In accordance with the agreement, 68 bales of indigo and 7 packs of Indian cloths were transferred to the Trade's Increase. Mr Pemberton's boy was also sent on board.

All the lead and iron having been re-shipped, and the final payment made on the 2d of July, the Shabender was allowed to remove his goods, and on his departure was saluted with three guns, of which, one being a demiculverin, broke, but praised be God, did no great harm.

While Sir Henry Middleton remained a prisoner at Senan, Jeffer Vizier Bashaw having then made a promise to release him upon the arrival of the Indian ships, he endeavoured to induce the Bashaw to restore the goods and pinnace, and to obtain a promise that if any Englishmen should thereafter visit those regions, they should have warning of what was in store for them instead of (under colour of friendship) being deluded and abused. The first request the Bashaw refused to comply with, saying that all goods were for the Grand Seignior's benefit, and that with regard to the second, he would deal harder with future visitors than

he did to the first. Sir Henry Middleton considered this answer to be a warning, and as he had now by force obtained restitution of all his goods, he proposed terms of peace with the Bashaw, that for three years from that date no Englishman should hurt or damage any Turk between that town and Cape Comorin or southermost point of Malabar, and that the Bashaw should give a pledge under his hand that no wrong should be offered to any Englishman at any towns or ports under his rule. As neither the Bashaw nor Regib Agaw made any allusion to this proposal, the General interpreted their silence as a confirmation of the former answer, and therefore determined to use his best means to prevent the same.

On July the 3d, the General sailed from Moha for Asab, at which place he hoped to obtain fresh provisions. While the vessels lay at that place the King of Raheta,[1] by Abdella, his sister's son, sent down presents, for which suitable returns were made.

Sir Henry Middleton, wishing to avenge his wrongs, and with the concurrence of his officers, having determined to seize a Turkish galleon which, with divers gallies richly laden, was then on the passage to Moha, on the 24th July sailed from Asab for Cameran,[2] an island off the Arabian coast, forty leagues to the northwards of Moha, where he expected to find the galleon; but the fleet having run in amongst dangerous shoals, there being no pilot on board, and the weather being very uncertain, he from prudence abandoned the attempt and returned to his former anchorage. A few days later, having obtained from a jelba two natives of Beloule, who were well acquainted with Cameran, the General held a council, whether the attempt should be renewed, but the unanimous opinion (the time of year, and

[1] Asab Bay is on the Dana'kil coast, opposite Mocha; into which the Raheita river falls.

[2] Kamarán, a low island twelve miles long, thirty miles south of Loheia.

the fact that the vessels would have to touch at Socotra being duly considered) was against doing so. When the fleet, a little later, anchored before Moha, this galleon was found there, her cargo having been discharged.

From Mellecamber, Nahuda of the Mahumedi of Dabul, Sir Henry Middleton received a letter in case he should visit Dabul. In return for this letter he gave a similar one addressed to any Englishman Mellecamber Nahuda might fall in with. To the Shabender, Sir Henry Middleton intrusted letters to be forwarded to London by way of "Messa or Grand Cairo, as we call it". No pilots were obtained from the Indian ships, as the men's terms were exorbitant.

All business at Moha having been completed, the fleet sailed from that place on the 9th August, and on the 31st of that month anchored in the Road of Delisha. Two days previously, the Peppercorn spent her mainyard, the mainsail being split, thus, regard being had to the hollow sea in which the vessel lay, dangerously shortening sail.

Three vessels lay at anchor before Delisha: one, a ship of Diu, of 400 tons, carrying merchants, passengers, and sailors to the number of 700 men, bound for Jedda; the second, a ship of Nagowe, whose Nahuda and company were chiefly Banians, bound to India,—these two vessels, having lost the easterly monsoon, were wintering at Socotra; the third vessel belonged to the king of the island.

Water and ballast having been obtained, and some 26$^{cwt.}$ 3$^{qrs.}$ of alloes purchased at 25 rials of 8 per cwt., and further letters of warning for such Englishmen as might touch there on their way to the Red Sea, having been left with the King, the vessels on the 4th Septr sailed from Socotra, and on the 18th of that month land, being a point some ten leagues distant from Diu, was sighted. Groping along, with tha lead constantly going, the fleet stood on until the 23^{d}, on which day Sir Henry Middleton learned from the crew

of a native boat that he had overshot Surat by some leagues. On the following day pilots were obtained from another boat; they reported 16 armed Portugal frigates lying off the bar of Surat. On September the 26th the vessels anchored in the road south of the bar of Surat, where three Indian ships were lying, which, said the pilot, were intended to be laden for Sumatra, but partly by reason of Sir Henry Middleton's approach, partly that the Portugals would make no reasonable terms for customs and cartas, or passes, had given over the voyage.

Don Francisco de Soto, major, captain-major of the forces of Damon and Chaoul, and the captain-major of Diu, with 18 Portugal frigates, kept up so close a blockade that none, without being searched to see if they had letters or provisions for the English, could approach the fleet, the crews of which, for want of fresh victuals, were suffering from scurvy.

The General had expected to have found merchants at that place, from whom he might have obtained information respecting the Company's business and the disposition of the natives; instead of which, he learned from a letter conveyed in a cane to one of the native ships, that Nicholas Baingham (a joiner left there by the Hector), the writer, alone was at Surat; from whom, after many days, he received two letters intended for him, the one from Captain Hawkins, written at Agra, where was the residence of the Mogul; the other from Lahore, from William Finch, who was then on his way homewards overland through Persia. In these letters, the writers expressed but little hope of any good in that country, the people, from the king to the slave, being without faith or honesty. This intelligence greatly troubled Sir Henry Middleton, as a large quantity of goods, which would not be vendible elsewhere, had been provided for trade at Surat. Later, Nicholas Baingham sent word that Captain Sharpeigh, John Jourdain, and others, were

daily expected at Surat from Agra by way of Cambaya. When this party had arrived, they were, by reason of the watchfulness of the Portugals, unable to reach the vessels. During all that time the General kept the Indian ships by him, as by their boats, despite the Portugals searching them, he had letters conveyed to his countrymen on shore.

Strict orders were given by Sir Henry Middleton that no violence should be offered the Portugals, unless they were the assailants. Emboldened by this impunity, their frigates used to run very close to the vessels, and at night watch had to be kept against any attempt to surprise the smaller ships. At length the General sent, by a native boat, a letter to the Captain-major, being a caveat against breaking the peace between their respective princes, and giving the reasons for his being there. To this letter no answer was returned.

On the day following, a flag of truce was displayed by the Trade's Increase, upon which the Captain-major sent a letter to Sir Henry Middleton, wherein he denied no courtesy that in him lay to afford, and offered to accompany Sir Henry Middleton to Goa to learn the Viceroy's pleasure, otherwise he could not allow of any business being transacted. "He omitted no complement according to the Portugals fashion."

On September the thirtieth Captain Downton, by the General's order, attempted to find a passage across the bar, but this attempt was frustrated partly by the Portugals, who were ready to cut off the boats engaged in sounding if they ventured beyond the range of the ships' guns, and partly by the sudden shoaling of the water.

Sir Henry Middleton next requested the Captain-major, if the latter could not allow him to trade there, to permit Captain Sharpeigh and his companions to join the Trade's Increase; to which the Portugal answered no, for he could carry them to Goa, whence they should be sent home.

About the same time Captain Sharpeigh attempted, by some principal Portugal then on land at Surat, to obtain from the Captain-major a segure, or safe-conduct for his passage to the English ships. The Portugal scoffingly sent him a segure for a passage to his own vessel, without making any mention for their departure thence, adding (to show how basely he thought of them) that "if they would take there passage along wthim to Goa, he would use him and his companye wth as much courtesye, as he would doe Turks, Moores, and other nations y^{t} use these seas: and all other nations (a fewe Persians excepted) are Jewes, Benians, and Gentils, wch though it were in him a most vile and unpleasing speach, yet I like well his plainnes in shewing them what to trust to."

As no fresh provisions, owing to the watchfulness of the Portugals, could be procured, for want of which many men fell ill, Sir Henry Middleton forwarded instructions to Captain Sharpeigh to despatch some to the fleet at all risks. This the latter did; but the boat was captured by the Portugals, upon which "in scoffe the Captaine-major sent presently thanks unto Captaine Sharpeigh for his care of him in sending him victuals for his supply."

Sir Henry Middleton, on the 12th October, made another attempt to discover a place where the ships could be sufficiently close to the shore to command the landing place with their guns. For this purpose, the vessels stood in towards the land; the smaller ones, with their boats ahead, taking soundings, being in advance, while the Portugal frigates ever kept in shore of them. The Portugals, emboldened by long immunity, having attempted to cut off the Darling's boat, the master of that vessel opened fire on them; upon which, the crew of one frigate, seeing the shot falling around them, ran their boat ashore, and though the other frigates at first seemed inclined to attempt a rescue, she remained a prize. In her were found several Indian

commodities of small value. Thus the peace between the English and Portugals was broken. On the 13th the vessels ran further in. On that day, the General having given letters to certain men from the Indian ships, and having made them presents, despatched them to Captain Sharpeigh, promising further rewards to any man who should return with an answer. This, though many promised, none performed. On the same day, a supply of paddy was obtained from a native boat, the owners of which went away well contented with the price they received for it. On the 14th a frigate was intercepted, on board of which were two servants of Muccrab Chaun, the Viceroy of the country, to whom Sir Henry Middleton sent word that he had letters and a present from the King of England for him, and also a present and letter of more import for the Great Mogul, adding that there was in the ships a great store of goods for trade. By the same men, the General wrote to Captain Sharpeigh.

On the 15th, John Jourdain, with one Jadaw (formerly Captain Hawkins's broker), succeeded in reaching the fleet. The former stated that the whole company had originally started for the coast, but deeming escape for so many impossible, as the Portugals were very watchful, had returned to Surat; that he himself, with the Banian, had, by lying in the fields for three days, succeeded in eluding their enemies.

On the day following, Sir Henry Middleton made an attempt to capture two of the Portugal frigates, which, the wind and tide proving unfavorable, was a failure: but later on, the same day, the same two frigates, accompanied by two more, in one of "which was the late captaine of our little frigat, who lately hazarded his life by running away in the deep mud", attempted to recover the prize, and though the wind was as fair for the Portugals as adverse to the boats from the fleet which were hastening to her aid;

yet when the former, contrary to their expectations, saw the boats pressing on, and saw the musket-balls almost dropping around them, they changed their minds, "for they all at once exchanged their sternes for their prowes".

On the 17th, the General having landed at the point of South Swally, towards evening, some of the country people visited him. These men said they would have come down earlier had not the Portugals been in their town in the morning, and they further reported a rumour that the Governor, with the Englishmen, were to come down to the ships on the morrow; instead of whom, the General, when two days later he again landed, was met by Jadaw and a Persian merchant (formerly the General's neighbour at Moha), who, by their own story, were sent forward to announce the Governor's approach. Sir Henry Middleton then returned to his ship to make ready a present; after which he again landed, but the governor of Surat did not appear, sending an excuse, that if he did so, Muccrab Chan would take it ill, and say that he had received some great and rich present; perceiving from this the Governor's distrust, and being acquainted with the perfidious dealings of these people, the General sent a present to the Governor instead of visiting him.

On the same day, Thomas Watkins, one of the Ascension's crew, joined the fleet.

On the 20th, a boat having been sent ashore, the crew had a slight brush with the Portugals; and two days later the General, with thirty men, having landed, were attacked; but upon making a stand, the Portugals also halted, although there were some three hundred of them. Upon this, Sir Henry Middleton made his men embark, both parties exchanging a harmless fire.

Captain Sharpeigh, attended by a guard of a hundred horsemen, arrived on the 25th October at the water side, and, accompanied by Jadaw, embarked. Next day, Sir

Henry Middleton, with Captain Sharpeigh and John Jourdain, landed, and were received by Coia Nazan. The General was carried ashore in a palankin. At this conference it was arranged that the ships should go to Gogo (on the west side of the gulf, close to Cambaya), and native pilots were to be provided for that purpose. At this point, in consequence of a sudden (and at the time of year unusual) shower, the meeting was adjourned to the following day, when, as Goga, by the pilot's account, was unfit for the vessels to lie at, it was settled that the fleet should stand out to sea for six days (in hopes that the Portugals too would sail from thence), and then return for the despatch of business.

Previous to sailing, Sir Henry Middleton wrote a letter to Don Francisco de Soto, the Captain-major, enumerating the discourtesies suffered at his hands, viz.: the preventing communication with the shore and the exchange of letters; the detaining of provisions destined for the relief of the sick, and converting the same to his own use; the refusing permission to the company on shore to embark, who, being once on board, the fleet would have sailed; and the attempting to cut off the boats employed in taking soundings, on which occasion one of his frigates was captured, which (there being no further need of her) would be restored to him on sending for her. The Indian ships, detained for convenience of transmitting letters to Captain Sharpeigh, were allowed to proceed to Surat.

As the Portugal frigates persistently followed the fleet, Sir Henry Middleton (having determined to transact his business despite of them) returned to South Swally. When night fell, the Portugals in the river discharged many guns, saying that they did so having heard of the approach of two great gallies and twenty frigates,—thinking, with such lies, to terrify the General and his companions, who were now armed to withstand them.

Mr Thornton having failed to discover an anchorage

where the vessels might command the shore with their guns, Sir Henry Middleton despatched Mr Pemberton, on whom he relied greatly, in quest of such: the latter discovered a place, where not only the smaller ships, but also the Trade's Increase, if somewhat lightened, might ride. Into this anchorage the fleet moved, and let go their anchors in 8 fathoms; on the bar, at high water, the depth was three fathoms and a foot, and at low water three feet. The Portugal frigates followed the fleet and anchored to the northwards, somewhat beyond the range of the ships' guns.

Mr Baingham, on the 8th November, returned to the fleet with the provisions (limes, bread, lamp-oil, and candles) required by the different vessels.

Having heard from a native that a strong force of Portugals had entered the river, Sir Henry Middleton gave orders that the pinnace and the other two ships should cross the bar and anchor close to the Trade's Increase; but when he had learned that these vessels were Portugal merchantmen, he directed the Darling and Peppercorn to return to their anchorage. While obeying this order, the latter vessel, being becalmed, drifted ashore on the bar; but at the next high tide she was warped off without having suffered much injury. The Portugals, while the vessel lay aground, made no attempt to molest her.

Coia Nazan having had an interview with Sir Henry Middleton, promised that his ships would shortly appear to carry on trade; he also caused a market for provisions to be held on the beach.

The country people, contrary to their usual custom, not having approached the market on the 21st November, Captain Downton, from this circumstance rendered cautious, had the ships' guns trained on the landing-place. A party having landed, some 500 Portugals attempted to cut them off from the boats; but the ships opening fire and "having a little tasted of our shott both out of great and small peeces,

and seeing some of there fellows tumbling in the mud, they made as great haist back". Many of those who fell, afterwards crawled away; but one, Antonio de Sowso, badly wounded in the head, lay still, whom Captain Downton had carried on board his ship, where he died within two hours.

Three days later, there came down Muccrab Chan "with a 100 horsemen and many more footmen, 5 elephants with divers camels, carts, and oxen for transportation of his provisions, wherein he shewed his greatnes; furthermore, he had divers carts to carye his leopards, wherewith, at his pleasure he useth to hunt". Sir Henry Middleton landed to salute him, and on their meeting salutes were fired both on land and by the vessels. The letter of the King of England and various presents having been presented, Muccrab Chan accompanied Sir Henry Middleton to the Trade's Increase, on board of which vessel he remained that night and part of the next day. The General often brought to Muccrab Chan's notice the main business of the voyage, which the latter always postponed, considering as "all his hooking was both by himself and by divers instruments to find out and buy all such fantasticall toyes y[t] might fitt his tourne, to please the toyish humor of the great King, his M[r]"; but for anything else, unless it might serve his own purpose, he cared not: for this purpose he also visited the Darling and Trade's Increase.

Muccrab Chan purchased all the chests of sword-blades, "whereof he seemed so greedye, as he would not trust us to send them after him, but would see them all sent ashore before his departure"; but in a few days, having picked out such as pleased him, he returned the residue "careleslye and ill conditioned, as there accustomed manner is to doe all things whatsoever they have bought, when by all the view they can have they dislike the same".

Sir Henry Middleton, Captain Sharpeigh, John Jourdain, and Captain Downton, accompanied Maccrab Chan ashore,

and again endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to come to some agreement about business. Next day, Sir Henry Middleton, upon landing, was informed that Muccrab Chan had departed, and he was further told that the latter had gone to the Portugals to endeavour to bring about a friendly feeling between him and them, which statement the General did not believe; but suspected that Muccrab Chan, having received from him all the presents likely to be given, had now visited the Portugals to see what he would receive from them. On the following day, Muccrab Chan sent one of his chief gentlemen and his broker with a letter to Sir Henry Middleton, begging his "perfumed jerkin, and his spaniell dog", and also asking for a model of a chain pump; the jerkin and dog were subsequently forwarded in charge of Coia Nazan.

At this period, Bartholomew Davis, one of the carpenters, was sent up to Surat to purchase timber for repairing the Release, but did not succeed in procuring any, and as the pinnace was thoroughly rotten, she was shortly afterwards broken up.

On the 28th November, a flotilla of 120 Portugal frigates bound for Goa, passed the fleet.

After much bickering, Muccrab Chan and Coia Nazan agreed to purchase the lead and other goods, as without doing so they could not procure the velvet, quicksilver, and vermilion, but so soon as they had obtained possession of these latter commodities they commenced to wrangle about prices, and ordered the carts containing their own goods to be driven away from the shore. When informed of these proceedings, Sir Henry Middleton detained the Governor of Surat and Coia Arsan Allee, who were then on board the Trade's Increase, as security for his goods, and then having consulted Captain Downton went ashore, and informed Coia Nazan of what he had done, adding that, as the Governor of Surat had, out of courtesy, visited the ships, and as no

business could be transacted without him, he would liberate the latter in exchange for Coia Nazan. Having no choice, he, with a grim look and sour countenance, agreed to this arrangement and was sent on board the Peppercorn, from which vessel he was afterwards transferred to the Trade's Increase. For the despatch of business, it was deemed necessary to release both the hostages, other pledges being left in their place, for Coia Nazan, his son-in-law, Coia Jillardine, and one of his sons, and for Coia Arsan Allee, two Persian merchants; while John Williams and Henry Boothby were similarly held as hostages on shore.

On the 27th December, Sir Henry Middleton received a letter from Peter Floris, a Dutchman in the service of the company of merchants who had founded a factory at "Musulpatan", informing him that three ships were then on their passage out from England, one of which vessels was bound for the Red Sea. Three days later, a letter was received from Captain Hawkins, who expressed an intention of proceeding with his whole household to Goa, and from thence to England. Mr Jourdain and Mr Train, who had been dispatched to Surat to purchase Indian cloths, wrote to the General that Muccrab Chan made a show of being willing to allow a factory to be founded at that town, but this proved to be a delusion.

Captain Sharpeigh and Mugh Greet, on the 2^d January, set out for Surat, from whence, accompanied by Mr Train, they were to proceed to Cambay with letters to Captain Hawkins. At Surat, they found that without letters of credit, to obtain which the money must be paid down, they could take no funds with them to Cambaya, and to procure such cash they were compelled to leave Nicholas Uphlett, and Jawdow, the broker, behind as security. On the 26th, accompanied by Captain Hawkins, they returned to the fleet. To guard against any attempt of the Portugals

to capture the party, Sir Henry Middleton, with two hundred men, met them some three miles inland.

John Williams, who had been sent to Surat to obtain permission to found a factory, returned from the town with an absolute refusal to hold any further trade, and those merchants who had gone up thither were ordered to take their departure, no time even being allowed them to get in their debts. When Sir Henry Middleton was appealed to by his people, whether they should obey this order at once, or not, he directed them to comply with it immediately.

A fleet of nearly 500 sail of Portugal frigates passed the fleet on the 6th February, bound towards Cambaia.

On the 9th February, Nicholas Uphelet, who had been left at Surat as security for money borrowed, having returned thence, the fleet weighed anchor and crossed the bar.

During the time, 138 days, that the vessels lay off Swally, much injury was suffered from delays; breach of faith; the prohibition of the country people from trading; the little trade done, and that, too, at unprofitable rates; the refusal of permission to found a factory; the non-payment of debts formerly due; and the expulsion of the merchants from the town, and of the ships from the port. This expulsion was due to a letter, written at the instigation of the Jesuits, from Dangee, a Banian, at Cambaia, to Muccrab Chan, advising him to give no place to the English, for if he did so, the Portugals would come with force to burn all the sea-towns, and to seize all the ships found at sea.

"This road of Swally, within the barr, lieth in 20d 55 North latitude, the variation 16d 40 Westerlye. We found the water highed more on the full moone spring then one the change by 4 foot, the one being 24 foot, the other 20; the night tides higher then the daye tides by 3 foot; the nepe tides by night 16 foot, and by day 13 foot high, and some-

time 9 or 10 foot, according as the winds blow. The coast or straund within the bar lieth nearest south and north by the compas, which is (the variation allowed) N. b. E. ½ E. and S. b. W. ½ W., also W.S.W. ½ S. and E.N.E. ½ N., moone makes a full sea."

On the 11th the fleet set sail, bound for Dabul, whither the General went in hopes of disposing of part of the cargo ("or, as it were, shoot another arrow after divers formerly lost"), and on the 16th anchored off that place. Messengers from the shore visited the ships, and promised friendship and trade in indigo, cloth, and pepper, which was more than could be expected, or than they had orders to grant, such goods being required for cargo for their own ships bound to the Red Sea. But little trade, except for cloth and lead in bars, was done, for the country people were forbidden to trade, though the Governor, with the usual double dealing, had given the General leave to vend his goods. Corn and provisions, when paid for in cash, were supplied plentifully. Whether such kindness sprang from good will towards strangers, or from having heard that Sir Henry Middleton had the might to right his own wrongs, it was hard to say.

While the vessels lay at anchor off Dabul a great ship and frigate were seen in the offing. Sir Henry Middleton despatched the Darling and also the Peppercorn, and his own frigate, with orders to bring them in; the frigate attempted to escape, and in effecting her capture, a Portugal was killed. The ship, when summoned to surrender, did so; but the captain and chief merchants being ordered to present themselves on board the Peppercorn, sent a soldier to make excuse, that the captain was aged and unwieldy, and that their boat was so cumbered with lading that she could not be used. Upon receipt of this reply, Captain Downton very unwillingly sent his own boat for them, first of all having strictly commanded the coxswain to allow no

man to board the ship, his intention being that the General should be the first to do so. Captain Downton next ordered the vessel to stand in for Dabul; but, as there was no chance, in consequence of the ill steering of the prize, of making the port, and fearing that she might escape during the night, he caused the ships to anchor, and then retired into his cabin to examine some of the Portugals. Pretending to doubt that the ship had not let go her anchor, the master of the Peppercorn sent a boat aboard her, the crew of which immediately commenced to pillage. On their return to their own ship, Captain Downton, in the presence of the Portugals, had them searched, and the stolen goods sent back to the ship, the purser being directed to say, that if any other articles were missing, to report the fact, and they should be returned. Terry, a servant of Giles Thornton, who at this time, in consequence of the death of three of the Admiral's mates, commanded the frigate, had meantime, though contrary to orders, boarded the ship, and commenced to break open boxes, etc.; and further, used ill language to the Peppercorn's men. Informed of this, Captain Downton sent word to the General, who, on the frigates entering the road, gave orders that no man should be allowed to leave them until search had been made for all stolen goods, and the same restored to the Portugals.

The ship, called the St Nicolas, belonged to Cochin, and was bound for Chaoul. She was some 300 tons burthen. Her cargo principally consisted of dried cocoa-nuts, black sugar, rueka[1] nuts, ten cases of China dishes, some alum, a quantity of China roots, and some "Cayro" or bass ropes. As the Portugals would not produce any bills of lading, much trouble was experienced in discovering some cloves, cinnamon, wax, and bales of raw China silk, which were removed to the General's vessels, and which were but a mite

[1] Areca?

in comparison to the loss inflicted on the venture by the Portugals.

The frigate, of some 60 tons burthen, belonged to Chaoul, and was bound for Ormus with a cargo of rice and tamarinds; some of the rice was taken from her. By this vessel, Sir Henry Middleton sent away those Portugals who had deserted to him at Swally, as well as those taken in the prizes, giving them their money and wearing apparel. To the merchant who had owned the greater part of the silk a fine broadcloth was given, and to the captain of the frigate a fine kersey.

Having finished all business at Dabul, Sir Henry Middleton summoned a council to consider future proceedings, his wish being to sail for Goa and there to demand from the Viceroy compensation for the losses incurred at the hands of the Portugals, to the intent that if this request was refused, there might then be greater justification for reprisals: this proposal, though approved of by several, was deemed inexpedient, regard being had to the season of the year and various necessary delays, and finally it was resolved, the wind not serving to double Cape Comorin, to sail for the Red Sea, there to dispose of goods remaining on hand, to recover some of the losses already suffered from the subjects of the Great Mogul, to cross the Turks at Moha and Aden for mischief done by them, and to render assistance to the ships sent thither by the Company in the year following the sailing of the sixth expedition.

On the 6th March the fleet sailed from Dabul, accompanying the Cochin ship towards Chaoul, as a protection against the Malabars, and having run on to within five or six leagues of that port, the course was then altered for Socotra, which island was sighted on the 24th of the month.

"From the Coast of India to Soccatra, we this time dailye found our ship further to the Southward than by our course we could expect, and especially when wee were thwart of

the gulf or entrance of Sinus Persicus, which I imagine to be some current setting thence to the southwards."

On the 28th March, 1612, the vessels anchored about a mile and a half from Mount Felix. From the country people the General learned that four Indian ships had lately passed towards the Red Sea. With these people the General left letters for the Darling, which had been dispatched to Socotra; and, having made a few purchases from the natives, who supposed they were dealing with Mahometans and not Christians (or, as they call them, Franges), set sail for Aden, off which port the vessels arrived on the 1st April. A council was then assembled, at which it was determined that Captain Downton, in the Peppercorn, should blockade Aden, and turn away all vessels attempting to enter that port, for which purpose Sir Henry Middleton gave him a commission, whilst the General, in the Trade's Increase, should lie in the Straits of Bab el Mandeb to intercept the Company's ship, and to take revenge both on the Turks and subjects of the Great Mogul for all injuries suffered by the expedition.

Previous to separating, Thomas Herrod, a master's mate, and Mr Fowler, were transferred from the Peppercorn to the Trade's Increase; while Benjamen Green, factor of the Darling, went on board the Peppercorn. The Darling also was fallen in with, having a letter which she had brought from Socotra for Sir Henry Middleton from John Saris, commander of the Company's ships Clove, Hector, and Thomas, acknowledging the receipt of the General's letter, and adding that he himself, with his ships, would enter the Red Sea.

Sir Henry Middleton, having read this letter, with the Trade's Increase and Darling sailed for the Red Sea, the Peppercorn remaining off Aden, the Governor of which town sent off an old Arab fisherman to enquire what ship she was, and why she lay so far out. To these questions

Captain Downton replied that he was waiting for other vessels, and that till their arrival he would neither meddle with any merchandise, nor approach nigher to the town, enquiring, in addition, would he be welcome to the town, and were there any merchants there to buy his goods. The answer to which queries was, as formerly, with "truthles flatteryes". The Arab stated that three English vessels had passed towards the Red Sea twelve days since, and that two others (in which only he spake truth) had done so within three days. On the following day, the Governor of the town sent a present to Captain Downton, who, not deeming it proper to receive from, or give presents to, the Turks, at whose hands so much loss had been suffered, pretended that the captain, being absent, no man on board durst receive presents, but offered to purchase the things, which offer was accepted. To these messengers he entrusted a letter for Captain Saris.

On the 11th April, the Peppercorn overhauled a ship of Callicut, forty days out from thence. Her cargo consisted of 3 tons of turmeric, 2,300 quintals of rice, 40 bahars of jagra or brown sugar, 7 bahars of cardamoms, 4½ quintals of dry ginger, a ton and a half of pepper, and 31 pieces of cotton, each piece containing 5 or 6 maunds. This vessel, of 140 tons burthen, carried 75 persons, of whom 20 were to bale out water and for other duties below, 8 for the helm, 4 for the top and yard, and 20 boys to act as cooks; the remainder were passengers and pilgrims. As this ship belonged to a friendly nation, Captain Downton allowed her to depart, but it was only by threatening to sink her if any attempt was made to enter Aden, that he was able to drive her away from that port. Nothing, except two tons of water, freely parted with by the Nohuda, was taken out of her.

To any vessels that appeared in the offing, warning was sent from the town to beware of the Peppercorn.

While the Peppercorn was overhauling the Malabar, some Turks from the shore had boarded her, who, when they had recognised their former captives, would have at once departed, hut Captain Downton detained them till he thought they were sufficiently punished by their fears, then, to show the difference between Turks and Englishmen, he let them go free, they in return promising to send provisions to the ship.

Another vessel was taken on the 14th, and from her (as she belonged to Pormean, a town not far from Cutsnagome, and tributary to the Great Mogul) were removed some dutties, "candekins nill", or small blue pieces of calico, bastas, a little butter, and some lamp-oil; the residue of the cargo consisted of cotton-wool. This transfer Captain Downton had executed as quickly as possible, fearing that if another sail should appear in sight, he would have to let one vessel or the other escape.

On the same day Maharim Agaw of Aden sent off a present to Captain Downton, who, by the messenger, returned as answer that he had been forced by the injuries he had suffered the year before to return to make reprisals, and that it was his intention neither to deserve nor receive any favour from the Turks; that he remembered the treatment he had received when he came as a friend, and what could he expect now? and that he and his people would purchase what they required.

Between the 15th April and 6th May several vessels were seen and overhauled, from one of which 9½ lbs. of opium were bought, and from two others a number of sheep.

On the 19th April there was a Communion of 36 persons.

As the winds were variable, and as the time of year for the Indian ships to arrive was almost passed, also there being but little enough of the easterly winds to carry the Peppercorn into the Red Sea, Captain Downton, on the 6th May, set sail from before Aden, and on the next day

captured a small ship of Larree, a city of the Mogul, situate at the mouth of the river Zinde. While preparing to rummage the prize, two ships were sighted, one of 200 tons, the other a huge sail, whose mainyard was 43 yards long: the latter vessel was at once chased, in hopes that she might be "the great Rehemi, which belongs to the queene mother, who had beene wife to Zelibdin Eccubur,[1] the last deceased Emp^r^ of Indestian, the father of this present Great Mogull, which ship usually, as the report goes, brings not lesse for her use, passengers and pilgrames to Moha or Jedda, the port of Mecha, then 1500 persons, which ship was the principall mark we aimed at, the end that thereby the Great Mogull may sooner understand how unpatient the subjects of the King of England (whom he, in his pride, so much dispiseth, as Capt Hawkins informeth us) are both of the dishonor done to there king and wrongs to themselves:" but upon approaching close to her, she was recognized to be the Mahomadie of Dabul. Pursuit was then made after the other sail, which had "strouk a hull" in hopes of escaping during the darkness; she was speedily overhauled, and found to be a ship of Cutsnagone, a place not far from the river Zinde, and that her cargo consisted of cotton-wool, a few packs of Indian cloth, some butter and oil. In company with her, the Peppercorn stood in towards the Arab coast in search for the first prize; having fallen in with which vessel, all the three lay at anchor off the coast for two days, at the end of which time Captain Downton having learned that Sir Henry Middleton was at Assab, set sail for that place and arrived there on the 15th May. He was informed by Giles Thornton that the General "had at commaund all the desired ships of India, as the Rehemy, of burthen 1500 tuns; Masany, of 600 tuns; Mahomady, of 150 tuns, of Surat; the Sallamitee, of 450 tuns; the Cadree, of 200 tuns, the Assum Cany (the Shawbender of Moha, his

[1] Akbar.

ship) 200 tuns, all of Diu; besides 3 Mallabar ships; the Cadree, of Dabull; and a great ship of Cannanow". Giles Thornton further added, before the Peppercorn could enter the road, that Sir Henry Middleton, with all the pride of his people, and Captain Saris, with his men, had gone ashore to receive the King of Raheta, who with his nobility and guard had come down to visit the Generals. Further, Sir Henry Middleton sent word (knowing Captain Downton's "niggardly inclination always for powder") with how many guns Captain Saris and the Trade's Increase should be respectively saluted.

Captain Downton also learned that Sir Henry Middleton was as much harassed by the pride, turbulence, and cross dealings of Captain Saris (his countryman and also a servant of the India Company), as formerly by the treachery of the Turks, whose cause Captain Saris (as an attorney-general) even had pleaded.

Towards evening, Sir Henry Middleton and Captain Saris, having taken leave of the King of Raheta, returned to the Trade's Increase to supper. Then Captain Downton learned that a compact had been made between the two commanders to the effect that of all goods procured by trading, Sir Henry Middleton should receive two-thirds for the benefit of the sixth voyage, and Captain Saris one-third for the eighth voyage. No dealings with the Turks were mentioned in this agreement, as they had injured the sixth and not the eighth voyage. Sir Henry Middleton, too, had from the first informed Captain Saris that he had returned there to obtain satisfaction by force from the Turks, and that he expected not only not to be hindered but even aided; to all which Captain Saris assented. This Sir Henry Middleton deemed sufficient.

Captain Downton also heard that Mammy, captain of the gallies, and divers others, had been sent by the Governor of Moha to propose a peace, and to learn Sir Henry Middle-

ton's demand for compensation, which was a hundred thousand rials of eight. Upon hearing the sum demanded, the envoys had requested time to send to Senan[1] to learn Jeffer Bashaw's pleasure in the matter, and, having promised to let the General know the result, they had taken their leave of him.

Captain Downton further understood that this compact having been made, Captain Saris, with his ship, departed towards Moha, his business being unknown to Sir Henry Middleton, while the latter remained to intercept the Indian ships. Also that the former, when despatching the Thomas to the Abexin coast in quest of fresh provisions, directed Captain Towerson to follow his commission, as he would have to answer it, which speech seemed obscure to Sir Henry Middleton, who imagined that Captain Towerson had been left with him to render assistance in the common business.

By the time that Captain Downton had learned so much, making more use of his ears than his teeth, supper, in a quiet calm, grew to an end; but soon after began some gusts of contention, as Captain Saris would in no wise allow that Sir Henry Middleton might with reason demand satisfaction from the Turks, seeming to know that none would be ever recovered, while he was in favour of exacting such from the Indian ships, in which case he would receive one-third part. On the other hand, Sir Henry Middleton would have what he demanded from the Turks, or none at all, saying, that for the others it would be punishment enough for them to deprive them of their usual profits by taking their goods and giving them instead English commodities, which they value not, at the rates such articles were worth in India. This plan did not please Captain Saris, who then urged the General to take certain goods in such manner that he would have been merely acting as a broker; then

[1] Sana' â.

the former would have taken goods from the Indian ships, whether friend or foe. Then another dispute arose, Sir Henry Middleton having termed the Indian vessels "ships", while Captain Saris insisted on calling them "junks", for so the ships of China were styled at Bantam. With many such frivolous contentions, the night passed until high time urged every one tó depart to his lodging or charge.

"This night's cavell for brevetie's sake might serve as a glasse to shew how by ffitts for a long while we spent in wranglinge and discontent, which was made soe apparant to all that we had to doe withall, to ye shame of our nation and to the spoile of o^r^ busines with the Turks."

On the following day, Sir Henry Middleton sent word to Captain Saris, asking him to drop such idle cavilling for the sake of the Company's business; the latter agreed to this proposal, and also that the sum to be demanded as compensation should be computed by some of the principal men of the sixth and eighth voyages.

The Darling was despatched on her voyage to Tecoa on the 19th May, by Sir Henry Middleton, and was followed by the Thomas a few days later.

On the 30th May, the Shabender of Moha, Mammy, captain of the galleys, and an Agaw, all deputed by the Bashaw, waited on Sir Henry Middleton, who again demanded 100,000 rials of eight. When the envoys found that this demand wound not be reduced, they asked permission to hold a conference with the Nohudas and other principal merchants of the Indian ships to see what increased customs the latter would be willing to pay in aid of the compensation. Several of the Nohudas, mindful of former injuries, did not attend the conference, while others declared against any increase of the custom dues.

As the Turks showed no sign of paying the compensation, Sir Henry Middleton and Captain Saris, on the 26th July, held a meeting on board the Mahomidy of Dabul, at which

the former having recapitulated to the Nohudas the losses and injuries he had suffered, informed them that, as the Turks still held back, he felt compelled (though he had been compensated for the loss inflicted on him in India) to carry their ships with him out of the Red Sea, and thus to deprive the Turks of the benefit of trade. Upon hearing this, the Indians sooner than lose the entire profits of the voyage offered to make a composition, paying for each ship in proportion to her value. As Sir Henry Middleton had no means of forcing payment from the Turks, and reserving the satisfaction due from them for a future occasion, he accepted this offer, and agreed to take a composition of 15,000 rials of eight for the Rehemy, which vessel was nearly equal in value to the other four ships. Captain Saris too agreed to this proposal, although he afterwards tried to exact a much larger sum.

On the following day, at a meeting held on board the Clove, Sir Henry Middleton being wearied by much idle cavilling, referred the whole matter to Captain Downton. Thereupon, Captain Saris, not thinking it consistent with his greatness to treat with any but the General, deputed Captain Towerson and M Cocks, his Cape merchant, to act for him. These latter made an estimate of the sum to be demanded from each vessel, from which they would make no abatement though Captain Downton considered the amount excessive, more than the Indians could pay, and too great when compared with the composition paid by the Rehemy: finally, a much smaller sum was accepted.

August 2^d^. The weather was stormy, with heavy sea, which greatly strained the weak ground tackle of Sir Henry Middleton's ships, who had in vain (even offering payment for the same) applied to Captain Saris for fresh tackle, of which the latter had more than was requisite for his vessels.

On the 6th August Captain Towerson, in the Hector,

sailed from the Red Sea, and was followed in a few days by Captain Saris, neither of them paying the usual courtesies to Sir Henry Middleton.

Having received the composition from the Indian ships, the General set sail on the 16th August for Tecoa.

"Some snakes swiming on the top of the water, which in boisterous weather seldome appeare, yet an apparant signe of being neare to the coast of India", were seen on the 12th September, and two days later land was sighted, upon approaching which the water was found to be muddy and thick, with some sudden spots of clear.

Cape Comorin was passed on the 22d of the month, and Cape de Galle was in sight on the 25th. On the 11th of October, the ships were for some hours becalmed in a "tumbling sea like to raise the ship spooning in before the sea". On that day land was seen, which was supposed to be a small island off the coast of Sumatra, which island Sir Henry Middleton attempted to double by the northern passage, but the wind failing he had to take the southern one, through which the vessels were carried by the current, and passing on the 17th October by Sumatra, the highest mountain of which bore N.N.E. 18 leagues distant, and another not so steep N.E., about the same distance, arrived on the 19th October in the Road of Tecoa, where the Darling was found lying at anchor, having been there since July.

On this passage it was found that much of the wheat in the bread-room of the Peppercorn and some packs of coarse dutties had been injured by wet.

The captain of the Darling reported that three of his merchants, vizt., John Fowler, Francis Glanfield, and William Speed, had died and been buried at Tecoa, that most of his men were ill, that he had obtained but little pepper, that only a little could be procured before the next season (April and May), and that trade was much hindered by the civil wars.

The Thomas, too, was at Tecoa,[1] having gone there from Priaman, where her success had been as poor as that of the Darling. Her captain had hoped to have obtained the Darling's pepper, as that vessel was leaky; but in that he was disappointed.

Sir Henry Middleton also heard of the safe arrival home of Captain David Middleton and his fleet;[2] that of the four ships of the ninth voyage,[3] two were already at Bantam; that Captain Cassleton had been lately at Tecoa, and had spoken of the arrival out of 15 sail of Hollanders, laden with munitions; and also of two ships from Newhaven in France, which news cast a gloom upon the chances of this "tired, crost, and decayed voyage".

Seeing but poor prospect of gain, Sir Henry Middleton took leave of the Governor and principal men of Tecoa, "to whom he gave divers presents, to provoke their more kindnes to such as he should leave there behind, wch they received, yet between there uncivil blockishness and pride together, they scarce gave him thanks"; and on the 22^d^ October sailed in the Peppercorn, having exchanged ships with Captain Downton, for Bantam.

Captain Downton's instructions were to purchase all pepper in the island, on the main, or at Passaman, and to get the Trade's Increase's leakage caulked. This leak was at first supposed to be forward; not being found there, further search for it, as requiring much time and labour, was given over; and then another fresh attempt was made to discover its whereabouts, when divers suspicious places which the worms had "ruinated" were secured; but through want of planks, nails, and other iron work, as well as

[1] Tiku. See note at page 84.

[2] David Middleton commanded the eighth voyage, which left England in 1609.

[3] The ninth voyage, commanded by Edmund Marlowe, left England in 1611.

through being unable to get the ship high enough to get at the main leakage, this latter effort was not much more successful than the former.

When the ship was being rummaged, it was found that the packs of Indian cloths in the hold, and also those received from the Darling were much injured by wet. This was due to the foul weather experienced on the passage to Tecoa.

By the first of November Captain Downton had bought and shipped 80 tons of pepper. Trade then received a check through Raia Bonesoo, together with all the men of note in Tecoa, departing to the wars; for during their absence no pepper could be purchased, as, though the owners were anxious to sell, they were restrained by the king's officers and chief men of the town, who hoped to receive bribes, and who also demanded a present for the King of Achin, as well as heavy anchorage dues. As Captain Downton did not consider the pepper worth such an increased price, he stood out in hopes of more reasonable terms.

On the 11th, Mr Pemberton, in the Darling, returned to Passaman,[1] to which island he had been despatched at the beginning of the month; he had there obtained 28 bahars of pepper, but no further trade (as the pretence is in all those places) could be carried on without a permit from the King of Achin, which permit could only be obtained at a heavy cost in presents and otherwise.

John Jourdain was sent to Tecoa to clear off some small accounts ("to declare our honest care to doe right to all men"), and to convey presents to the Pungalina and Raia Bonesoo, and with a message of thanks for their kindness; also to speak to them of the departure of the vessels in hopes thereby to hasten the sale of pepper, but the natives would not believe this statement; wherefore "truth which

[1] Exactly on the Equator.

is oldest is ever surest", for that by which others deceived them would not serve again.

Captain Downton was much perplexed how to act, being unwilling to leave the small quantity of pepper, yet knowing that if he gave way such a proceeding would be a source of harm to future traders; further, it was impossible to be certain of any bargain, for the natives were wont to play fast and loose at pleasure.

When the tents and goods had been transferred to the ships and other preparations completed, the country people, being convinced that Captain Downton really intended to sail, urged their Governor to request a short delay, which was granted. On the 16th and 17th, 38 and 72 bahars of pepper were shipped, which the Achin men now sold for 20 rials the bahar, whereas formerly they would never name a reasonable price; on the 18th there was too much wind, and too rough a sea to do any work; the 19th and 20th were spent in shipping the remainder of the pepper, which, when examined, showed the fraud of the natives; in some sacks were small bags of paddy, in some rice, in others great stones, and even rotten and wet pepper had been put into dry bags, but against this trickery there was no redress.

"We having gotten all things in, and our men abord, we fitted our things to haisten away, and neare midnight in the mooneshine, the wind at N.E. of the shore, we sett saile; we wrought not only to avoid the 2 knowne rockes 3 leagues from the Iland of Tecoa, the one S. b. W., the other S. b. E., having 26 fathom betweene them ozee ground, but for our better securitye we directed our course so neere as we could the same way we came in; yet as we stood of, the wind somewhat shrunk of us, yet we lay first west then W. b. S., and W.S.W., and last of all S.W. b. W., and the currant sett us somewhat southwards, our depthes proportionable from 17 to 27 fathom, all ozie ground, the next cast 4 fathom, and the ship fast on a rock asterne, 4 fathom on the

P 2

starbard, amid ship a quarter lesse then 3 fathom, and under the head 3 fethom a ship's length, 5 fathom a ship's length on the larboord bow, 6 foot in the larboard, midships 16 foot, under the larboard gallery 20 foot, and round about w^{th}in a cable's length deep water. She remained on the rock till a little after 3, untill 5 o'clock, the mercifull Lord so provided y^{t} the wind grew calme, and the sea smooth, and in our feeling the sett or motion of our shipp (the place considered) was verye easye, yett the water did so encrease y^{t} both our chaine pumps wth painfull labour could not in long time free the same, but our $genn^{l}$ endevor wth most expedition possibly was to gett out a streame anchor, wch was lett fall in 26 fathom right asterne, and 2 thirds of a cable right out, to heave her of right asterne, wherein the gratious Lord so blest our endeavours, y^{t} before we could wth the capstaine heave the cable taught, the ship as of her owne accord sett unto deep water, wch no sooner done, but we had a westerly gust wch put us of some mile from the said rock, where we anchored for our boat, wch brought our cadger after us, and it being cleare day we could not discerne where the rock stood; also a principall reason we anchored was our exceeding distresse and haist for Bantam, y^{t} unless necessity enforce, I wisht not to put back and wast more time, hoping our leake would easily be over come."

"At anchor, I past the day till 2 a clock, consulting and advising wth such as wth their best counsell are pointed to assist me what best to be done our present estate considered, wch we find divers wayes to rest daingerous, first in regard of the leaknes of the shipp, wch continually imployes many people at once to keep downe the water; secondly, in manner no provision of iron work for the chaines, but what the pumps presently imploy, wch often break, or for weaknes slip, to our great discomfort, for if they should be any long time in mending, and the water

so encrease y^t we cannot reatch under the pumps to reve the chaines, our work will soone draw neare an end; thirdly, the desperate carelesenes of many of our people in greatest need, considered there faint weaknes and disabillitye to hold out labour (by coarse diet, as they pretend); ffourthly, the remembrance of what is certaine in the ship wch requires care to preserve it; ffifthly, Capt. Sharpeigh, his misfortunes, and the lewde demeanor of his people in like case of greatest need, too late to be forgotten: the daingers in proceeding diversly cast up (notwthstanding at the first divers of our men did urge the same by counsell reasonable), for the safeguard of all I made choice to retourne wthin the Iland of Tecoa, there by God's help to endeavor the stopping of such a part of our leake, as we found to be in the fashioning peeces in the sterne."

"At sunsett we anchored in the place wch for our turne we desired, yet notwthstanding the exceeding cause I have to rejoyce for God's most mercifull help and present deliverance, yet feeble faint wretch y^t I am, cannot remove ye remediles sorrow, for this further addition of the dammages of this our troublesome journey, wth deep feeling of Sir H. Middleton's greefe in long wearisome looking for us, deeming everye howre a weeke y^t he is hindred in the proceeding of his journey."

"This day (21 November), long time, we kept both our chaine pumps going to free the water, w^{ch}ever encreast when the chaines brake, wch happened often, the 2 pumps imploy at once 12 men, wch labour indeed is so extreame y^t it can but little while wthout shifting of spels be continued, but the water once brought lowe and the chaines holding, one pump at once hath ever discharged it, and yett it tries all our people by offten shifting: in wch busines I found it required more then ordinarye meanes to appease there discontented clamors and murmeringes: if the place would have afforded it, I would have hired 100 men to have

eased them, but heare is none of this country people yt wilbe hired for any money."

"And as the place neither afforded hens nor other flesh enough to sustaine, or inable them to hold out there great labour, wch I earnestly covcted, wherefor it being thought fitt by advisc of othcrs, I also gave to everye 5 men 1¼ rials of 8 for there extraordinary expence for a week in fruits, or whatels like them."

From the 22d to the 28th the crcw were employed, one half at the pumps, the other in landing the goods, much of which had to be opened out and dried, and in removing the cargo from aft to forward, as the leakage was somewhere aft. While this work was being carried on, Captain Downton sent John Jourdain and Mr Pemberton to the main to purchase provisions and a praw by which he might send intelligence of his mishap to Sir Henry Middleton; "but these people stand uppon all advantages, looking unto men's need wthout courtesy or humaine feeling, they will sell and restraine (as it were), play fast and loose, as there jelious humor leeds them, for if they sett a man a price of any thing, and so it is agreed for, yet if they perccive he hath great need thereof, ether he shall not have it, or els by one trick or other they will make him pay more then was bargained for it, they will put a man to make divers journeys for what themselves desire and urge to sell".

As the price demanded for the "praw" was excessive, on again sending for provisions, Captain Downton directed that no mention should be made of her, which resulted in the owner offering to dispose of her for a reasonable sum.

The last of the pepper was removed from its room on the 29th, "under wch rowme we find a great leake passing under wch more aft, right under thend of the keelswaine, wch we were forst to cut of in thend of it to come downe to the leakes betweene the hookes in the run being an open seame 6 inches long, and 10 inches above the keelc on the

larbaord side, wch by diveing and reveing of a dooble line to wch occum was fastined, wch they halled in taught on the inside wch stopt the force of the water, so y^{t} they might worke wthin boord to way a plank wth tar and heire, a plate of leade and a peece of plank againe uppon, whereby (blessed be our mercifull God) at present to our great joy we had no more such use of the pumps."

The surgeon of the Darling, and John Staughton, one of her factors, died that day, and there were many men down with an illness which began with ague-fits.

The principal leak having been stopped, the ship was trimmed to get at some smaller ones in the fashion-piece of the stern, and then the cargo, which had been landed, was re-shipped, as well as some freshly purchased pepper.

On the 8th December the Trade's Increase again set sail, and with her boats out ahead taking soundings, worked out to sea. Her progress was much retarded by currents and light winds until on the evening of the tenth "it pleased God in his mercy" to cause the wind to "harden at S.W." On the 19th, the weather in the morning was thick with rain, and at night-fall, there being a thick sky overhead and a huge gale astern, Captain Downton deemed it prudent to heave to for nine hours, during which time the ship drifted five leagues. Through the clouds a high hill was seen bearing E. b. S., which some of the crew took to be one of the salt-hills, but it was a great deal short of the south end of Sumatra, or else an island thereto adjoining. About the position of the salt-hills there was a great difference of opinion among the pilots of former experience, some held they were the mountains at the southern end of Sumatra, which then bore N.N.E., while others maintained, and rightly too, that they were eight or nine leagues more to the eastwards.

Relying on Thomas Herrod's knowledge of the ship's position, on the 20th Captain Downton ran in towards the

land, and at night anchored in ten fathoms, thinking he was entering the road of Bantam, but at daybreak the vessel was found to be embayed some fourteen leagues south of the point of Java. Taking advantage of a gust of wind from the south, he weighed, and at night anchored off the Point a league and a half from Pullopenjaun[1] and four leagues from Bantam.

Three great Holland ships were at anchor at the Point, and a fourth was at Bantam, all waiting for a fair wind for their homeward voyage. The commander of this fleet saluted Captain Downton with three guns, who, remembering the "strictnes of the Comp^s^ commission for spairing of powder", answered with one.

Captain Downton learned from the Hollanders that Sir Henry Middleton was at Bantam; that the Solomon, Thomas, and Hector were homewards bound and nearly to sail; and that the Peppercorn was being careened.

Next morning, Captain Downton being desirous of requiting the Dutch captain's courtesy, as also to excuse the salute of three guns which ought to have been fired on departing, sent him a present of a fine white Basta, and then set sail for Bantam. On the passage, the Peppercorn's pinnace was fallen in with; in her were the purser and John Davis, master of the James, who informed Captain Downton that Sir Henry Middleton was at Bantam, and that it was his wish that the Trade's Increase should edge up for Pullopenjaun, where the Peppercorn then lay. Shortly afterwards the General, with Captain Marlow and Mr Pettyman crossed over from Bantam to visit the ship. Captain Downton having related his misfortunes, Sir Henry Middleton first spoke of the grief he had endured at the other's long absence, and then mentioned the kindness and assistance he had met with at the hands of his companions, wch report gave me (Captain Downton) no small cause of rejoycing,

[1] Pulo Panjang, a large island in the west part of Bantam Bay.

yt once in our long journey we had mett wth our honest and kind countrymen, whose fealing was such as did ad comfort and not griefe to our distresse, wch till now we could never meet anye, but yt shewed us no lesse mallice then the Turks." Captain Downton also heard of the deaths of Thomas Glenham and several others, and of the illness of Hugh Fraine; and further, that two Holland ships, in addition to those already mentioned, bound eastwards, were in Bantam Road.

While at Pullopenjaun the carpenters of the Trade's Increase, with those of the Solomon and James, as well as divers Chinese hired from Bantam, were employed in overhauling the Peppercorn; of all of whom "to my content, not willing to detract from anye of the rest, wch I better know, and love according to everye man's meritt, but for true labour, few needles words, and honest behaviour was one Day, the carpenter of the James, the rest for the most part clamerous fellows, not satisfied wth treble the allowance of the other men".

On the 23d December the surgeon of the Trade's Increase was sent for to bleed Hugh Fraine, whose fever had increased; and later on that day Sir Henry Middleton, having concluded his business at Bantam, returned to Pullopenjaun, when he and Captain Downton conferred about erecting a building there for the protection of such part of the Trade's Increase's lading, as was not destined for the Bantam market. Some trouble was experienced in finding a place sufficiently clear of rocks for the boats to land, for the ground there was all sunken with bushes and trees growing in the water and only a small bank of coral dry above high water.

Though having much need of his small pinnace for his own use, the General lent her to Captain Saris, who despatched her to Marigobrough, a watering place at the southern end of Sumatra, to detain the Hector to the end

that that vessel and the Thomas might sail on their homeward voyage in company.

Sir Henry Middleton and Captain Downton held many conferences about business matters, but their plans were always opposed.

On Christmas Day, Captain Marlow[1] and his merchants, Mr Petty, Captain Hawkins, and Augustine Speelden, dined with Captain Downton and Sir Henry Middleton, and having spent the day in friendship, at night departed.

On the day after Christmas Day Hugh Traine sent for the General to visit him, if ever he desired to see him alive, "wch was no small grief in reguard of the business we had to doe and the little help by the weaknes of their discretions that remained there to do it; wherefor, instantly the Generall sent for me and Mr Adames, the preacher, to accompanye him, and to take leave of Hugh Traine; though wind and wether adverse, we presently departed, and being some 7 or 8 mile over, it was neare 9 o'clock before we got into Bantam, where, being landed, we were encountred wth most noisome smels, wch bred a conceipt in me yt it was hard and doubtfull for anye new comers to continue there health untill they had made it familiar unto them. At our coming into the English house, we found Hugh Traine in good memorye, but his extreame parts growing could: till noone the Genn[l] and he was despatching divers businesses, wch being dispatched about 2 or 3 o'clock, he gave up the ghost. We staied also till he was buried the next morning."

By Sir Henry Middleton's direction, Captain Downton returned to Pullopenjaun to proceed with the erection of a store-house for goods with a dwelling-chamber attached to it, which house was erected by six men in five days, and when finished was filled with the packs from the Trade's Increase.

[1] Commander of the ninth voyage.

The General remained at Bantam to plan a house for the goods of the sixth voyage: it was to be erected at some distance from the English house, which being much used by the factors of other voyages, contained very little spare room.

Sir Henry Middleton at first intended that the Trade's Increase should discharge at Bantam the goods intended for that market; but as there was no house to receive such, and also to avoid the danger of fire, to which all strangers upon any discontent or broil arising among the natives were subject, the great ship's company too being required to assist the Peppercorn, directed that the Trade's Increase and Darling should be hauled in as close as possible to the Peppercorn, which order was obeyed.

Sufficient Bantam pepper to make up, with the quantity already on board, a cargo for the Trade's Increase having been obtained, Sir Henry Middleton proposed to despatch her home under the command of Captain Downton, while he himself in the Peppercorn, and Mr Pemberton in the Darling, should try their fortunes at the Islands of Amboyna, Banda, and Borneo: at the Moluccas there was no hope of doing any trade, the Spaniards and Portugals having (as it was said) seated themselves there in great strength; nor was there much prospect of success at those places where the Hollanders had a footing and where they followed their business with a large force of shipping.

When the question was discussed which ship and which commander should be employed on either service, Captain Downton having regard to the foregoing and to the management of the Company's great business at Bantam, for which Sir Henry Middleton, by his former experience and present authority, was best fitted, offered, however hazardous and hopeless the task, to undertake the same, so that whatever casualty, imputation, or disgrace, might be in-

curred, should be assigned to him in preference to the General. The meeting, without having arrived at any conclusion, broke up after this speech, which several, for private reasons, opposed.

Captain Downton did not make this offer from any desire to be employed upon a hopeless task, but that if of necessity one must try the fortune of a doubtful way, then he to be himself so employed in preference to his Commander, who had to carry and sway the whole business.

Notwithstanding that every man's opinion was that the Trade's Increase, which had been upon a rock, and had had her leak stopped with much labour, should not be adventured homewards until her keel had been examined and all doubts set at rest, yet she was nominated by those who had expressed most doubts as a very sufficient and firm ship for the voyage: this statement Giles Thornton, George Collenson, the carpenter, and others strongly confirm, to Captain Downton's great surprise, who did not for some time understand their reason for doing so, until he had learned how urgently Giles Thornton had entreated to go as master in the General's ship under the supposition that the Peppercorn would be that vessel, while the Trade's Increase (he and his goods being out of her) was quite good enough for Captain Downton, the merchants, and cargo.

Though Captain Downton considered this to be loose dealing, yet, considering how desirable it was that the Company should receive some speedy return for their great expenses, and that he himself would most probably be employed, he forbore to speak or show any fear, while if any other man had been likely to have gone in her, or had Sir Henry Middleton asked his advice, he would not have concealed his opinion; further, he never doubted but that, before the business was finished, "God, by some occasion or other", would put it into the General's mind to look more closely to the safety of so many men and so much

goods. This actually happened when the Darling, having been careened, it was seen how dangerously she had been eaten, which made Sir Henry Middleton doubtful about the condition of the Trade's Increase, and of hazarding her on the voyage without having previously had her overhauled, and as she could not sail that year if this work was carried out, he thought fit to sell some of the goods to save the Company from loss; and notwithstanding that by the Solomon, which with the Hector and Thomas had sailed, he had sent letters to the Company, he further determined to despatch the Peppercorn to England, which vessel was got ready with such haste, that on the 19th January, 1612-13, she was ready to receive her cargo, which was all shipped by the end of the month, and her stores were embarked by the fourth of February.

From Pullopenjaun Captain Downton sailed over to a watering-place at the N.N.W. part of Java to fill his casks, which were "weak and decayed, unto which we had a cooper sutable, being 3 parts dead before I had him and unable to mend or repaire them, who within short time after ended his life".

The homeward voyage was commenced on the 8th February, on which day Sir Henry Middleton[1] took leave of Captain Downton, to whom he had given his letters, and on his departure was saluted with five guns.

A few days afterwards, Francis Pinder raised a mutiny (as it were) to force Captain Downton to place a man, whom the latter considered unfit for the post, in the cook-room. At that time too many of the crew suffered from flux and other illnesses.

On the 12th of the month the Peppercorn sprang a leak, by which much goods were damaged and the crew greatly fatigued in pumping, the water having risen twenty inches on the lower orlop deck before the accident was known.

[1] Sir Henry Middleton died at Bantam.

This leak was caused by two trennel holes, left open by the carpenters who built the vessel, and completed the number of fourteen holes similarly discovered.

On the day following this mishap, Mr Alexander Wicksteed, the minister, died.

March the eighth, the wind so high that her courses low set was the only canvas the ship could carry.

By the cook's negligence the galley fire eat through the back of the furnace and set fire to the ship.

From the second of April to the first of May the Peppercorn experienced much heavy weather to the great injury of her sails.

On the tenth of May the Peppercorn anchored in Saldania Bay, where the Hector and Thomas, two ships of the eighth voyage,[1] were lying at anchor; and also the Expedition under Captain Newport, of the twelfth voyage, but not the Solomon, of which no tidings were heard.

With the aid of Captain Towerson's men, the water-casks of the Peppercorn were refilled, and on the 15th Captain Downton, although the men were no whit refreshed, put to sea in hopes of completing the voyage in company with the two other vessels, but in this he was disappointed, as the other vessels were soon lost sight of and not again seen on the voyage.

The Expedition sailed at the same time, bound "towards the confines of Persia, to some place where they might in safety land Sr Robert Sherley and his Persian lady, and Sr Thomas Powell with his English lady, who were bound unto Persia".

On the 25th May the Peppercorn for the third time sprang a bad leak, her orlop deck being again flooded.

By the beginning of June many of the men were ill with scurvy. To obtain fresh provisions for them and in hopes of meeting the Hector and Thomas, Captain Downton intended

[1] The voyage commanded by Captain Saris.

to touch at St Helena; but, on standing in towards the road, two carracks were seen at anchor there, upon which the captain stood out to sea, in hopes that if these vessels were ready for sea and might imagine he had support near at hand, they might sail during the night, but the current carried the Peppercorn so far to leeward, that on the next day it was impossible for her to make that port, so she continued on her course towards England.

Mr Abraham Law, who, by reason of his stomach failing him and often having inclination to vomit but failing to do so, imagined that he was poisoned, died on the 27th July, when the surgeon, in the presence of the purser and others, opened the body to examine the intestines.

On the 11th August, having sighted Fayal and Pico, Captain Downton found the ship's position to be further west than he expected.

August 26th. "Cloudy wether, but drie afternoone. At 2 o'clock my giddy-headed people would needs make land and harbor in Britany, from which we were 80 leagues distant, they being deluded by a fog-bank yt brought our adverse winds; yet, nevertheles, Francis Pinder, an evill member of our voyage, southed up our foolish people in there conceipt of it to be land, whereby he made a generall murmering in the ship as yt we might have harboured the ship and would not."

1st September. "Notwithstanding the extreame weaknes of our people, we hove up againe our maine yard," the crew at that date being mostly in a very weak state.

7th September. "A great storme, and not one sound nor healthy person; the Lord be our health and defence."

On the 9th, a small sail was in sight, which took no notice of signals which were made to her.

On the following day, as the wind was adverse for making any port on the south coast of England, Captain Downton

stood on a north-east course, in hopes of reaching Milford Haven, and thence forwarding a letter to the Company. Land, being a high hill between Wexford and Waterford, was in sight on the eleventh, and on the twelfth the wind being contrary for Milford Haven, and the extreme weakness of his men allowing no delay, Captain Downton determined to run in for Waterford harbour, his reasons for doing so being to obtain the protection of the forts for his ship and cargo, to procure supplies, and to forward with the greatest speed a letter to the Company. On approaching the coast, a thick fog compelled him to lie to until the following morning, when the Tower of Whooke (Hook) became visible. Captain Downton hired a boat, a Frenchman bound for Wexford, which was proceeding to sea from the river, to bear intelligence of his arrival to the Lieutenant of the Fort of Don Canon (Duncannon), so that his vessel might be allowed to proceed up the river without stopping, lest by reason of the narrowness of the channel she might be endangered; and by one o'clock on the thirteenth he carried his ship up the river as high as the Passage, when, by the aid of divers of his countrymen, the sails were taken in and the anchor let go, Captain Stephen Bonner of Lime, who was there for the fishing, being especially zealous in rendering assistance.

Captain Bonner was despatched to Waterford by Captain Downton to endeavour to obtain money for a bill drawn on London on the Company of East Indian merchants, but none could be procured. The Mayor of the town, though, offered to supply provisions at rates named by himself, to which Captain Downton replied that money alone was what he required.

"After my coming into this port, I was continually accompanied with abundance of people of divers sorts, both Jesuits and Friers, gentlemen and other newsmongers, which, under culler of love, came to heare strang things,

whereby my business in writing was hindred all the day-time, and I forced to sit up in the nights."[1]

Mr Bonner again visited Waterford on the 17th, but the people would in no way relieve Captain Downton's wants, hoping thereby to force him to sell some part of the cargo. On that day, Mr Edward Hinton, the Customer of Waterford, out of compassion, and seeing that there was no chance of the Mayor and principal men relenting, offered Captain Downton a loan of twenty pounds, with a promise (which, as far as possible, he kept) of more if required.

Mr Bonner was despatched to London on the following day, as bearer of letters to the Company.

21st September. "Doctor Lancaster, Bishop of Waterford, very kindly visited me, bringing down with him his good cheare, and made a sermon aboord the shipp, and offered me the communion, but thereto being unprepared I refused, hartely thanking him for his good will."

Captain John Burrell visited Captain Downton, and offered to supply the latter with money, provided that a messenger accompanied him to Cork to receive the same, and accordingly Mr Mollyneux was sent thither in Captain Burrell's company on the eleventh of October.

October 12th. "Anthony Stratford, Lieutenant of the Fort of Don Canon (having hired a villenous fellow, whom, for his misdeamenor, I had caused to be kept in prison at Waterford, to say what might befitt his present practise to bring us within the compas of piracye) having obtained a

[1] On September 15th, Captain Downton addressed a letter from Waterford "to the right worshipful the Indian Company in Philpot Lane" (*Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1513, l. 66, p. 256), complaining that his decayed and wretched person leaves him but small ability to act for the safe guard of what he has in charge. Only twenty-six of his people alive, out of forty-six who sailed from Bantam.

warrant from thearle of Ormund, came to the passage, where he sent to desire me to send my boat well mand to fetch himself and divers other gentlemen aboord to see our shipp; but when my boat, according to his desire, come aland, he apprehended my men, and presently came aboord, where he arrested me and my ship for piracye, and so committed me to the Fort of Don Canon to prison, giving extraordinarye straight charge over me, y[t] none but whom he list should come at me without warrant from him, and such as by his permission came to me he would have put to their oathes to declare what conference they had with me, my man sworne to bring no l'res from me to anye one, nether from anye one to me: also divers of my people this night they examined of their oathes, omitting no meanes to draw them to accuse me. So I continued in prison untill the 16th day, morning, what time the said Stratford brought me a l're from S[r] Lawrence Esmond (accompanied with the Bishop of Waterford), comde from thearle of Ormond to replace me in my charge againe, which by there great intreatye and persuasions I againe undertooke."

M[r] Benjamin Joseph, in a small ship of Bristol, bringing men, money, and provisions, entered the river on the twenty-fifth of the month, and on the sixth of November the Peppercorn sailed from Waterford; on the twelfth she anchored off Dover, and on the following day in the Downs, "neare unto the Assurance (the kinge's shipp), saluting her with 5 peeces of ordinance, immediately came aboord of me M[r] Cockett, the m[r] of her, who againe made stay of my shipp till further order from my Lord Admirall. Uppon this, I presently sent away M[r] Mullenax to Lundon with l'res to certify the Company heareof."

Next day M[r] Aldersly arrived with a letter from the Company, an order to release the vessel, and a pilot to take charge of her. On the following morning, the Peppercorn

left the Downs, and in the evening anchored at Gravesend.

On the 19th November, in the morning at six o'clock, "we sette saile, and at 10 o'clock we anchored at Blackwall, where in the afternoone came downe Mr Deputy and divers of the Committyes, unto whom I delivered up my charge, and so concluded this our tedious and our tiring journey, Anno 1613."[1]

[1] Captain Downton died at Bantam, when on another voyage, in command of the *New Year's Gift*, on August 6th, 1615.

There is also a MS. in the India Office, being an extract from Captain Best's notes relative to the bargaining for, and purchase of, pepper, for money or by exchange of goods at Priaman, Tecoe, and Passaman: to the refusal of the natives at the last place to bring their pepper to him as they had agreed to do, saying that when, according to promise, they had brought their pepper to Sir Henry Middleton, he had refused to purchase it; and Captain Best's sending his merchants for the same: and to the claim for custom dues and anchorage fees by the Governor of Priaman, who, in consideration of a promise of presents for himself and his subordinates relinquished the former claim, the latter one being agreed to by Captain Best.

JOURNAL

OF

RALPHE CROSSE,

PURSER OF THE "HOSEANDER" IN THE TENTH VOYAGE.

A.D. 1612.

[This is a Journal of the Tenth Voyage, kept by Ralph Crosse, the purser on board the *Hoseander*, which vessel sailed from Gravesend in company with the *Hector, James*, and *Solomon*, on the 3rd of February 1612, the general of the whole fleet being Captain Best. The Journal commences with the following "Articles" issued under Captain Best's own hand, with orders that they were to be read every month in the hearing of the respective crews.]

"To thend that Almightie God may have glorie, the King honor, our merchants profitablie served, and our vaiges[1] soberlie governed, I, Thomas Best, chief captaine and comaunder of the Dragon, James, and Sallomon, and Hosiander, do establish and ordeyne thes lawes and ordinances followinge, straitlie chargeinge and comaundinge both captaines, merchauntes, and mrs., with all other officers and mariners, saillers, or other persons whatsoever imployed in this vaige, to observe and keepe the said lawes and ordinances so far as doth concerne him, or eyther of them upon the penaltie herein comprised, from the daie of the publicacion hereof."

"1. Imprimis, that everie morneinge and eveneing you the chief comander or m^r^, assemble together your men, or

[1] Voyage.

company to heare Devyne Service, and care be taken that your praieres and the Word of God be read in all sobernes, as in the presence of God, that He may have glorie and yourselves comfortt, with increase of knowledge, and that no man absentt himselfe from thes your publick praieres and excersses of Religion, neyther willinglie nor neicligentlie, nor y^t no man causse any disturbance nor lewdlie demeane himselfe in this your Devyne Service upon paine of punishment."

"2. Item. That you, the chief comaunder or m^r, suffer nott the name of our great and glorious God to be dishonored amongst yow by blaspheming, sweareinge, cursseinge, or by any other idle takeinge of our God in vayne upon dew punishement, videz: for the first oath sworne, or for the first tyme cursseinge or baneinge, to receve thre blowes from ye m^r with the bole of his wissle; for the second tyme, either sweereinge or cursseinge, to receve six blowes, as aforesaid; for the third tyme, nyne blowes; and for the fourth tyme, to stand 24 houres in the bilbowes without eyther meatt or drink, and so for everie tyme hearafter."

"3. Item. That muttuall love and concorde be preserved amoungst yow; that no man offer abuse to other in word or deed; that therfore all drunkennes, all mallice, envie, hatred, backbitinge, and slanderinge be avoided, upon paine of severe punishment; that love, kindnesse, humillittie, and humanittie be entertyned of all and of each man to other; and that no man darr, or presume from wronges rec: to revenge his owne cause, upon payne of such punishment as to that partie belongeth which first comitted the offence; butt that everie partie so wronged shall repaire to the captayne or m^r for justice; with whom, if yow fynd nott sattisfaction in justice, that then, oportunittie and tyme servinge, that then they repaire to me, the General or Chief Comaunder, from whom he shall have justice, according to the qualitie of the offence."

"4. Item. That no man, of what condicon or place soever shall darre to challenge into the field or upon the shoare dureing the tyme of this our vaige, any of these our men, imploied in thes our shippes; nor any person or persons shall dare to accept any such challenge; nor no man to accompanye any that goes into the field, under paine of 40 strippes upon the bareback, and to stand in the bilbowes att the discretion of the Generall: neyther that no man feight, nor strike any maliciouslie of thes our men upon this vaige, imploied in shipboard or on shore, upon paine of severe punishment."

"5. Item. Whoesoever shall conspire to maik away his Governor by treason, mallice, or otherwise in any of the shippes, or shall be a mutineer or factious fellow to taik part with any man against his Comaunder or Governor, or shall have knowledge of such conspiracies or malitiouse purpose, and do not spedily maik known and discover the same, shall suffer death for the same."

"6. Item. Everie officer in thes shippes, both att sea and att land, shall do ther best endevoures to reforme all thes disorderes, and shall maik known and aprehend all mallefacteres, that they may receve dew punishment; and that no man lift upp his hand with weappon violentlie to resist any officeres, upon payne of grevouse punishment, or to suffer death for yt if the cause so require."

"7. Item. Whosöever shall break open or pick any chest or trunke or cabin to taik anything there hence, or shall pick any man's pockett or other place to steall from him, shall be for the first tyme grevouslie punished, and for the second time suffer death."

"8. Item. That no play att dice, cardes, nor table be suffered in your shippes for money nor otherwisse, upon payne of severe punishment."

"9. Item. That no man lodge out of the shipp wherein he is shipped, or detayne himself aboard any other shipp for

the wholle night without leave of his captayne, under payne of puuishment."

"10. Item. That no man shoott of any peece, greatt or small, after the setting of the watch, because yt is an alarme to the rest of the shippes, under payne to be punished."

"11. Item. That greatt and especiall care be taiken for the relief and cumfort of all sick men; that they be kept cleane aud refreshed and comforted with all good provisions; and that the Chirurgions extend ther best endeav: and labores towardes there care and cumfortes; and if yt should happen, notwithstanding, that any should die, that then good care be taken that a trew inventorie be maid of all the goodes, moneys, apparell, and provission belonging unto the partie deceassed; and for all apparell and provissions not fit to be keept to the end of the vaige, that yt be sould at the maynemast; and that therin such order be taken as is provided in the 11th article of our Comission; and the purser to have for registring it 11 des per £1."

"12. Item. That in all places where we shall staie to relyve, refresh, and cumfort our men or ourselves, eyther by fresh water or vittualles, that everie man carie himselfe wth sobrietie and meeknesse towards the people of the countrey; that justlie of our partes no offence be geven; and that no man presume to wander or stragle from his company without leave, but that he contayne himselfe within his lymites and boundes, upon payne of puuishment, for by this indescretion and libertie taken many have lost ther lyves, our force and strength in our shippes therby weakined, and our mayne vaiges often indangered."

"13. Item. For so much as the preservacon, care, and good husbandrie of our vittualles is the conservacon of our vaige and of all our lyves; that therefore you the officeres extend your best cares and endeavoures to ye preservation of all our vittualles; that so all abusses may be prevented aud our vittualles prolonged for the relief of our countynuall

neecessities ; that so accordinge to the larg proporcons from the Wor^{ll} Comp^{y} receved ther may be no want."

"14. Item. That all barteringes and bargaynes, buyinge and sellinge betweene man and man, be registred and entered in the purseres booke for that purpose provided, therby to avoid all purloyneinge and steallinge; and that all such bargaynes and barteres that shall be maid without such registringe shall be void, aud the offenders to undergoe dew punishm$^{t.}$, and the purser for his service to receive 11 des per £1."

"15. Item. That especiall care be had by yow the boatson, your towe mates, to see the shipp be keept cleane swept and washed in all corneres, as oft as occasion shall be offered, and to see such portes left open in hot countres as we may convenientlie beare out for the better aireinge of our shipp and health of our men, and that ther be no eating and drinking under the uppermost deck, except upon necessity yow be constrayned therunto eyther by rayne or fowlle wether; and this to be performed by yow all, as yow will answer yt."

"16. Item. That no man presume to go downe into the hould at any time, upon any occasion, without acquaynting of the m$^{r.}$, upon payne of severe punishment."

"17. Item. Whosoever shall be found absent from his watch, eyther at sea or in any roode or herber wher we shall come, or being at watch, bee found asleeppe, shall be severlie punished."

"Item. That yow the cooke with your mate be carefull yow have your vittualles well seasoned, both flesh and fishe, and that yt be provided in dewe tyme, vidz., dynner to be reedie at 10 of the clocke at the furthest, and supper by five o'clock ; and likewisse that yow have a speciall care to keep your steeppstubs sweet and cleane, together with the furnace, kettles, pottes, and platters, or any other thinge which shall be used, eyther about the dressinge or servinge

out of the companies vittualles, for yt is a principall thing to be regarded for the preservacon of our healthes. Faille not heereof, as yow will answeer yt, by sitting in the bilbowes 24 houres with bread and water."

"Lastlie. The God of all Peace so order and guide us, that we maie continewe in all piettie and love each towardes the other, accordinge to place and callinge; that the end of this our vaige maie be with more glorie to Gode, and better reformacon of our synfull lives then the beginninge thereof, and that by our example other men maie be encouraged and stirred upe to like laudable enterprisses, in which God is the giver of all good successe, graunt us prosperittie in peace to go forth and in saifty to retourne to the great glorie of God, honor to the kinge, comodittie to the Comonwealth, gayne to the merchants, credit and reputacon to us the factors."

[The fleet anchored off the bar of Surat in October 1612, and on November 27th news came that a Portuguese expedition had sailed from Goa to capture the English fleet. Captain Best gave orders to prepare the vessels for action, and next day four galleons and twenty-five frigates were seen off the bar.]

"Twenty-ninth November in the morninge, being Saboath, Mr Aldsworth,[1] Mr Canninge[2] (who had just been

[1] Thomas Aldsworth was the chief factor at Surat. He died there in 1616.

[2] Paul Canninge, one of the Surat factors. In 1613 he went on a diplomatic mission to Agra, to obtain a reply from the Emperor Jehanghir to a letter sent him from James I, and also to beg for a firman securing to the English an anchorage free from danger of attacks from the Portuguese. After a long and tedious journey, Canninge reached Agra, but died there on May 27th, 1613. His kinsman, Lancelot Canninge, a musician, died a few days after, and another of his followers, named Richard Temple, died on his return to Surat on June 27th, 1613. Mr. Keridge, with Edward Hunt, was sent to take

released from captivity), and all the rest of the merchauntes were comed to the waterside, where Mr Canninge did take leave of Mr Aldsworth and came aboard, haveing verie importunatlie perswaded Joo. Jooson to repaire abord with others of our yong merchauntes, which refused and found many delayes, or elles durst nott. Everie man was reedy with great spirit and courage to encounter the enemie."

"Mr Canninge did first repaire abord the Dragon, where he did relat unto the Genl so much as he knew was pretended by the Portingaille against us. How they meant to taike both our shippes, money, and goodes, which, before they came from Goa, they had vowed and receved the Sacrament upon yt, and then yt must need be performed. How they had in ther shippes some 200, some 150 men; ther frigotes 50 or 60 souldieres, besides sailleres, which number, the Lord knowes, was far unequall with us, they being about 2,000 men, we little more then 200 in both our shippes; but the Lord I hope will feight for us, in whom is our trust in the daie of battaille. Ther ammerall 36 peeces, cullverin and deme canon; the rest 20, some more, some lesse, all brasse ordinance; and, further, the Portingailles did verielie think when wee see ther forces that we would not feight, but yield in hope of favour."

"Our Genl came this morneinge to see our shipp and feightes. All things was to his content. He made a speech unto the company, the effect wherof was this, that although ther forces were more then oures, yet they were both basse and cowardlie; and that there was a sayinge not so comon as trew, who so cowardlie as a Portingaill; and that after the first bravado was past they were verie cowardes, as he in former tymes had found them by experience; did therefore perswad everie man to be of good courage, and shew ourselves trew Englishmen, famousse over all the world for

the place of Canninge at Agra. Keridge was afterwards chief factor at Surat, and came home in 1621.

trew valour; and that God, in whom we trusted, would bee our helpe: to trust in God and not to feare death, allthough for death we were ordayned, and in a better action we could not die then in the behalfe of so worthy a countrey as we have the Comonwealth of our land, the estate of our m^rs. For death, sayth he, is the passage to heaven: He shewed a sayinge of David in his '16 Psalme, towards the latter end, I will set God alwaies before me, for He is on my right hand, therfore I shall not fall. My hart is glad, my glorie rejoiced, my flesh allso shall rest in hope. Thou shalt shewe me the path of liefe; in Thy presence is the fullnesse of joie, and at Thy right hand there is pleasure for evermore. In this manner haveing encouraged our men, furder tould them that if yt should please God that any of our men in feight were dismembred or laymed, he faithfullie promised, upon his credit and reputacon, in the hearinge of the company, that he would be a meanes unto the Wor^ll. whom we serve in ther behalfe, for reasonable mayntenance to keep them as long as yt should please God they lyve, and himselfe to be the petetioner upon his knees till his request were graunted; but that we should not need to feare, for that we served a religious and worthy company of m^rs that would never see a man go to decay or want by any harme sustayned in ther service. Haveing ended his speech he tooke a cup of wyne and drounk to the m^r (master) and all the company, and desired God to give us His blessinge, and so retourned abord his owne shipp to sermon."

"We went to prayer, Mr Canneinge being speaker: we all joyned with him that God would assist us against our aproaching enemies. After prayer we went to dynner, drunk one to another. Thinking tyme long till they were come up, we had weid apike, and was redie when the Dragon weyd, and kept of her wither bowe. We had the wynd of them, which we aymed to keep, stood right with them with flags, ancientes, and our pendants at everie yardarme. Ther

Vice Admirall was the headmost shipp, the Dragon steered directlie with her, and haveing hailled her with a noise of trumpets, gave her a sallutinge peece under her sterne. She answered her agayne, then the Dragon came up with her, and gave her a holle broadside for a welcome, which we did see to raik her throw and throw. We heerd ther people make a great crie, for that yt could not otherwise bee, but that they had received great spoille and harme from the Dragon. She shot at the Dragon, but shot over and did her no harme, save onelie the sinkinge of her long boat, which that night she freed and maid fit agayne. The Dragon did so plague the Vice Admirall, that the Admirall and the rest rune away afore the wynd. We were reedy to second the Dragon, but could not, for that they rune away. The Dragon had a shot in the mainemast, which ther stuck fast: another shot she had upon the sterbord bowe, but no harme, the Lordes name be praised. The Vice Admirall bore upp with her consortes, the Dragon and we came to an anker halfe a league of them to windward. This night we see the Vice Admirall upon the carrene with all the frigotes about her, thinking she had received some shot under water."

"This feight was in the sight of the shoare, wher both our English and the country people did behold us, allthough this afternoone worke were but a preparitive to that ensewed."

"30 November. This daie being St. Andrewes daie we weied earlie in the morneing, keeping the wynd of them, bore right up with them, the Dragon being ahead, steered with the Ammerall, and gave her such a breakfast as Nuno de Cuno little expected, and sent him such tokens as maid the shipes side crack where he was. All of them this morneinge, more or lesse, hard from the Dragon. We were not far from hir, to second hir in the best manner we could; we sent them tokens, to let them tast of our curtesey; we came so neere that we never shot, but prevailed, being amongst them where they all did shot at us. We had a hot

conflict this morneinge, but no harm receved, the Lordes name be praised. For the space of 3 or 4 houres our feight endured. We stood of into the channell for deepe water, and ankered in 7 fadn: water, about a league from the enemie. They spoilled us some tacklinge, but no more harme as yet. At afternone, with flod, we weid, and the Dragon weid likewise, and went up with thre of them, where she plaid hir part couragiouslie all this afternone. One being from the rest a good distance, and as we did think aground, we came upp close upon hir steerbord sid, within halfe a stone's cast, and lesse of hir: with this ship we spent all this afternone in feight; we maid 100 great shot this day, langrill, round, and crosse bar, besides our small shot: they maid many shot at us, but shot many over. We lost our boatson, Richard Barker, this day slayne by a great shot upon the forecastle: our tackleing and sailles turne, but no more harme this day, the Lordes name be praised. Our boatson had one of his armes taiken away, with other towe mortall woundes, one in his bodie, the other in the arme. I did my best endevour to give him cumfort, but being broken clene in sunder, and the wound in his body more daungerous, there was but small hop of his life, so that yt pleased God to call him within two houres he had receved his hurtes. Our m^r^ and cape merchant, after the feight was ended, went abord the Dragon to see our Generall, and to know if all ther men were well: the Generall tould them that all his company was well, except one man slayne right out with a shot in his bodie, wherupon he died intstantly; another with the same shot lost one of his armes. This was all ye harme the Dragon receved this daie, save his tackleing and sailles something torne. This night, in the begineing of the first watch, our men espied a frigot verie neere the shipp, which had rune to and agayne dyveres tymes about our shipp: the watch gave our m^r^ notice of her, and she being verie neare, our m^r^ caused the gunner to maik a shot at hir:

the ordinance being reedy primed he maid a shot at hir, which, to our judgment, was verie faire over hir: he maid another, and after that the third. She presentlie put furth tow lightes, for the other frigotes to come to hir, but we did think she sunk before the frigotes came to hir, as afterwards, when we came to Swally, we did certaynelie understand, as the countrey people likewise did afirme, for that they had found a great number of Christians drove upon the shoare to the number of 30 or 40. We did think that this frigote was by the General sent to do some mischiefe against us, eyther by burneing of us or cutting of our cable; but they maid a pit for us and fell into yt themselves. They knew they had no hoppe to taik us by feighting with us, as they had reasonable well tried, and therfore they meant by treacherey to betray us; but the Lord, who was our chiefe Captayne, both by daie and night, would not suffer ther trecherous pretence to taike effect."

"1 December. This day we rested and did not feight."

"2 December. We weid and stood more to the southward to seek deep water, they keeping in sight of us. This night we ankered in 10 fadum neere unto Daman."

"3 December. We weid and stood towardes Swally Road, agayne thinking to meet with them, because that the last night we had lost sight of them. Our companyes both was sorie, for they had great desire to trie yt out with them. Our Generall was fullie resolved to have fought with them if they had followed him wher he might have bene bold to have banged yt out with them in deep water, they being lesser ships then wee and light withall, that they drew but little water. The Generall, seing all the company so willing, yt did much move him to mayntayne feight with them, allthough he was deswaded from yt by the chief in his ship, and withall to leave them and put to sea, to see if we could take any Ormus men bound for Goa, which, if the Generall had consented unto, he never had nor could have had, any

trade at Suratt. The Generall, upon ther perswasion, put to sea and left them."

"6 December. We had sight of Dua.[1] Saboath daie we went to sermon."[2]

9 December. The vessels anchored off Madefraband, where the people readily supplied fresh provisions.

"This Madefraband[3] hath bene a great huge citie, but much ruinated and decayed, the walls overgrowne with wood. Yt hath a good ryver for small shippes. The Mallabars and Portingailles, sometymes with ther frigotes, put into this river, and then the people and the inhabitantes therof doth flie away upp into the countrey, for that they have bene many tymes ransacked and robbed by them, which is the reason that makes them so poore, but verie harmles people to them that offereth unto them no violence."

A few days later Captain Best, having called together on board the Dragon his own crew and the greater part of that of the Hoseander, addressed them, asking whether they thought better for the general welfare to return to Swally, and if the Portugals were there to fight them, or to lie at anchor doing nothing for the benefit of the Worshipful Company. Both crews, with one accord, voted for a return to Swally, which greatly pleased the General.

The combined crews then entreated Captain Best to spare the lives of four of the crew, who a few days previously had deserted, but had been captured and brought back by the country people. After much entreaty, he pardoned all four, whereupon the crews thanked him for his kindness. "So this being done, the cooper was called to fill some beare, and haveing drunk, we of the Hoseander repaired abord our owne shipp."

Having changed the anchorage from Madofraband to

[1] Diu.

[2] December 6th was Sunday in 1612. It was leap year.

[3] Possibly Mandwa Bunder, near Diu (?) or Mowah.

"Mea, alias Mocha",[1] the General, at the latter place, learned that the forces of the Mogul were then besieging a castle, distant some three leagues from the anchorage, held by a force of Malabars, but that the progress made by the besiegers was small, their guns being incapable of battering the walls.

Upon hearing of the arrival of the fleet, the Governor of the Army despatched two messengers to bid Captain Best welcome to those parts, and to treat with him for the purchase and sale of the various articles. The General having learned that the Governor of the Army was a friend of the Governor of Amedevar, dismissed the messengers after kind entertainment, and in their company he sent Mr Canninge and Mr Oliver to the camp.

"18 December. Our Generall sent his boat with a doss. shott and Capt. Hermon to examyne a boat was heere come into a kreek laden with meale and rice. I was spectator in the performance of this mes. of Mr Hermon's; which was done with too much severitie; for although they said they came from Dua, yet they did affirme yt they were Benians, and that permission they had was for the Army; but Capt. Hermon, giveinge but little credit to what was spoken, caused them to be hanged up upon a tree by ther handes, fingeres, and heades, to make them confesse themselves to be Port., but could not, because they were not so, nor could not speak a word of Portingaille. His deallinge was verie extreame, in my opinion, they being such harmles creatures."

Mr Canninge and Mr Oliver, on their return from the camp, where they had been very courteously entertained, informed the General that the Governor particularly wished to meet him. Also, on one occasion, while conversing with the Governor, a soldier came up to him, saying that the Malabars were ready to yield, provided the lives of the cap-

[1] Perhaps Miani Bunder.

tain of the fort and of some of his chiefs were spared, and for the rest that they should be slaves. To this message the Governor sent answer, that the Malabars should fight for their lives; further, that the English were his friends, and that if with his own forces he could not take the castle, he had interest enough to hope for the assistance of the English, who, for their pains, should have the castle and all the goods therein. The Governor then said to Mr Canninge and the rest, that the kingdom was theirs for trade, or for any other purpose, and that as soon as he had taken the castle he would present it to the General, if it would please the latter to come up with his ships to countenance him, and that the Malabars might see he had a friend in the English, and so be induced to yield. The Governor further added, that whatever commodities that part of the country, or Amedevar[1] or Cambaia, might yield for trade, he would be a means that the General should have the same at a reasonable price with ready conveyance to the ships. He also said that he had heard of the General's fight with the Portugals, who had suffered a heavy loss. Previous to their departure from the camp, the Governor again urged Mr Canninge and the others to induce the General to anchor off the castle, and upon their promising to do so, he provided pilots to navigate the ships.

The General, as soon as he had heard the result of Mr Canninge's mission, gave orders to the master to get the ships under weigh at flood tide to move in towards the castle, which order was duly carried out.

21st December. The Governor having sent off to the ships four of his chiefs as hostages, the General, attended by forty armed men, landed and repaired to the trenches, where, with much courtesy, he was received by the Governor, who said that the country was his for trade, and then expressed a wish to have four of the best guns carried ashore

[1] Ahmedabad.

from the ships to breach the walls of the castle. Captain Best replied, that it was contrary to his commission to land any of his guns, but in any other way he would do his best to please the Governor, and offered the assistance of one of his men with his gunner to regulate the gun platforms, which offer was thankfully accepted. From the trenches, Captain Best proceeded to the camp, where he was royally entertained, and from whence he returned to the Governor, who again attempted to persuade him to land some guns, but seeing he would not, desisted. The General, previous to returning to the ships, requested the Governor to spare the lives of the commander of the castle and of his son and daughter. This request the Governor promised to grant, although absolutely refusing to give a written promise to that effect.

Two of the smiths were left on shore to assist in making shot, and two other men to superiutend the making of a platform for the guns.

22d December. The four Portuguese galleons having been reported within sight, the General had his ships prepared for action, and sent Mr Canninge ashore to bring off his men. The Governors of the Army and of Cambaia urged Mr Canninge to persuade the Geueral not to fight, pointing out the inequality between two merchants' vessels far from their country, and men-of-war fighting at their own doors, and thus able to obtain fresh stores. "Mr Caneing retourned them this answer, 'That there was a God in heaven would feight with us and for us. He was our Captayne, and under his banuer we did feight, and those that constantlie and faithfullie trusted in him, he would deliver them in the day of battell.' Which speech they liked very well, and tould Mr Canninge that if our Generall wanted eyther powther, shot, or vittualle, or any thing else whatsoever, we should have yt from abord his frigates." For this offer Mr Canniuge returned mauy thanks.

"23 December. In the morneinge we weid both, and steered right with the galleons, they being at anker, the Dragon with the Ammerall, and we with the Vice-Ammerall. We did maik them such a breakfast, as I do verielie think was neyther in the way of courtesy or unkindnesse, was well accepted. The Dragon being ahead steered from one to another, and gave them such banges as maid ther verie sides crack; for we neyther of us never shot, but were so neere we could not misse. We still steered after the Dragon, and when she was with one we were with another, and the truth is, we did so teare them that some of them were glad to cut cables and be gone. This morneinge's feight was in the sight of all the army, who stood so thick upon the hills beholdinge of us, that the number of them being so many they covered the ground. We lost no tyme, nor spared neyther powther nor shot, as our spectatores ashoare can well witnesse, how this day we paid them and maid them rune away about 2 leagues off into the sea, wither we followed them receiving and payinge them, to the great honor of our Generall, and the credit of our nation to have 2 merchant shippes to beat 4 men of warr. We ankered in the wynde of them. Being comed to anker, our Generall sent Capt. Hermon abord of us to know if we were well. We tould him all was well, saveing one or tow lightlie hurt in the head. Capt. Hermon tould us they had one man slayne and some lightlie hurt. This was all the harme that both our shippes receved this daie, the Lorde's name be praised, that did so wounderfullie preserve us, for some of our men escaped this daie verie narowlie from a culverin shot that came in under our half deeck."

"24 December. This morneinge, verie earlie with daie, we weid and set saille towardes the enemie, we being in the wynd of them and not alltogether without the sight of the army. This morneinge they weid too, and comeing upp with them, we did so let yt flie at the Vice-Admerall, the

Dragon being with the Ammerall, as we maid her beare upp helme and go from us; and in the self same fashion we served the Admerall, the Dragon haveinge geven hir the first Bonjour. We gave her the *Besa los manõs;* but she, unwilling to complement any longer with us, did *Anda por atras.* Our men this daie did shew great vallour, everie man in his place. One of our men threw a ball of fire into ther Admirall, that busied them all to put yt out agayne; and if they had not seene yt when they did, yt had fired ther shipp. This day we tried them most cruellie; we see swiming by our shipp sides peeces of tymber, boordes, and ould hattes and clothes: ther sailles were allmost torne from yardes, some of them and ther tackling cut in peeces. Mr Canninge did much encourage our men, and verie redy himself to do what service he might. We spent thes 2 daies in feight furth of our shipp 250 great shot."

After the conclusion of this engagement the Hoseander's company petitioned the General, regard being had to the great expenditure of ammunition, either to undertake some exploit whereby the Portugals' shipping might be destroyed, or else whilst any stores were left to be gone forth from that place. Captain Best, too, had determined on this course, and according gave orders to sail for the Road of Swally.

In these engagements the Hoseander expended 27 barrels of powder, and 300 great shot, cross bar, langrel and round.

The General, having boarded the Hoseander, thanked the company for their exertions and promised to use his interest to obtain from the Worshipful Company fitting rewards for them. He further added that he was much pleased with their petition, and should occasion require it, he would not fail to make some attempt to destroy the galleons.

Twenty-seventh December. The vessel anchored off Swally, when the General learned that the Firman had not

arrived, though the Governor of the Army had told him it was at Amedevar.[1] When Medeiopher, who offered a supply of powder and shot, visited the General, the latter enquired after the Firman, and received a promise of its speedy arrival.

On the thirty-first, a boat's crew, sent ashore for water and provisions, returned empty-handed, in consequence of Medeiopher, who was displeased with the General, having forbidden the Macadam[2] to furnish such. Mr Canninge, on his return from Surat, said that the cause of offence was the General's refusal to let Medeiopher have certain cloths, previously promised to him, without payment, but that he had been partially appeased.

Fifth January, 1612(3). Mr Complain, the preacher, and divers of the merchants, went up to Surat to despatch business and to speak with the chiefs about the Firman; further, if there was no hope of its arrival to persuade Mr Aldsworth to return to the ships. Next day the General returned Medeiopher his signet, as he had proved so inconstant. The same day a letter was received from Mr Aldsworth, saying that whether the Firman came or not, he would not leave Surat.

Seventh January. The news of the arrival of the Firman was received, which made Mr Aldsworth, who had refused to leave the country, very joyful at the prospect of remaining there; but the General doubted that it was the Firman, for it had been brought down in no state or fashion, while he had expected that Medeiopher and the chief men would have accompanied it, and to that effect he sent them a message.

Eleventh January. The chiefs having come down, the General, attended by thirty men, landed, and having met Medeiopher, went to the Macadam's house, where "the Cavellero that brought the Firman from the Court was, in verie rich apparell, reedy with the Firman in his hand

[1] Ahmedabad. [2] Makaddam, a chief or head man.

covered with read silke, and maid up in cloth of gould, and did, in the presence of all the chiefs, deliver yt unto our Generall, where he demanded to know the contents, yf they were corespondent to the Articles concluded upon with the Governor of Amedevar or no. The chief affirmed it to be the same, and so our Generall, in all reverence and curtesy, received yt, our trumpetes afterwardes soundinge and a value or towe of small shot: and for the unkindnesse betwixt our Generall and Medeiopher, yt was tourned to great kindnesse and love againe, and there all discontentes was ended betwixt them. Our Generall tould them that presentlie he would apoint a merchaunt that within 6 or 7 daies should be reedy to take his journey towardes Agra with our kinge's present, which before tyme they had seene, and also our king's letter."

They then offered the General great courtesies and privileges for trade throughout the country, as well in Amedevar and Cambaia, as elsewhere, and promised to care (as for their own people) for all such persons whom the General should leave at Surat; and should all such happen to die, then they would have inventories made (as had been already done for the Dutch) of all goods, cash, and debts, and the same should be paid over to their successors.

"The General then yielded them many thankes, and for awhile took leave of the chief, gave them 2 valley of shot and threw amongst the souldiers tow handfulls of money, and with the sound of the trumpettes repaired downe to the waterside."

The Portuguese ships having appeared in sight, Captain Best hastened to make preparations for departure. Mr Canninge, attended by Richard Temple and Edward Hunt, was appointed to convey the presents and letters to Agra, and Anthony Starkie was selected to return overland to England with letters.

All business arrangements having been completed, the

General sailed from Swally on the seventeenth January, and the day following passed close to the galleons, which, in bravado, weighed and followed the two ships for a short time, and then again anchored. "Thus we parted from these valient champions, that had vowed to do such famous actes, but yet content to give us over with great shame and infamy redounding unto themselves, but this was the Lordes doinges, and God graunt us to give him the glorie."

Nineteenth January. Four junks were captured; they were from Cananoer, bound for Surat. The General, after they had been pillaged, allowed them to continue their voyage to Surat. "I praie God our people at Surat susteyne not revenge at the handes of thes people for this daie's worke."

Between that date and the end of the month many junks were captured, all were pillaged, but some were released, whilst others were destroyed.

On one occasion, Captain Best visited the Hoseander, and addressing the crew said, that in consideration of their courage and to reward them for their services, he had allowed pillaging, but since they and the crew of the Dragon could not agree about the plunder, to put an end to the scandal caused by such quarrels, he withdrew his permission, and should any ships be captured he would take means to satisfy both crews. Afterwards, six of the Hoseander's officers went on board the Dragon to draw up an agreement on that subject.

On board one of the prizes a letter, written at Goa, was found, in which it was stated that Nuno da Cunho had captured two English ships at Surat.

Thirtieth January. The fleet anchored off Bringa, a little village some 30 leagues northwards of Cape Comorin. The General received a visit from the Ambassador of the king of that country, who offered him great kindness and trade.

Fourth February. The ships set sail from Bringa,[1] than "which place as yet we have not found in the Indies a place of better refreshing", but owing to contrary winds, which forced them to anchor, did not double Cape Comorin until the twenty-sixth, and on the following day were within sight of the Island of Ceylon. An attempt to obtain supplies from the inhabitants of that island was unsuccessful, as the natives, who were friendly disposed towards the Portugals, refused to hold any communications with the vessels.

While off the Island of Ceylon two vessels were sighted, which were found to be a Fleming, and her prize. The captain of the former, before the vessels separated, presented one black boy to the General and another to the preacher.

Twelfth April, 1613. The vessels entered the Road of Achin, and upon their anchoring the Shabender, according to custom, boarded the Dragon to learn what the vessels were. He told the General that he had authority from the King to bid him welcome, adding that the King was well disposed towards the English, and promised on the day following to conduct some of the company into the King's presence. Accordingly, next day some of the merchants were sent ashore and were received by one of the chief nobles, the King being absent on a hunting excursion, who promised them permission to trade, and said that the King greatly desired to have commerce with the English. He also assigned the merchants a house.

On that day the merchants were entertained by the Flemings at their house.

Fifteenth April. In compliance with a message from the King, who desired to speak with him, the General, "with 50 or 60 of his chiefest men to attend him, went ashore to the

[1] There is no port with a name resembling this on the coasts of Malabar or Travancore.

King with the Sabender and the Capt. of the Fleming. The people of the cittee received him with all joie and mirth that might bee, but the king was absent ahunting of wild ellofantes, in which sport he taikes great delight: but by some of his chiefes the General was entertayned."

Seventeenth April. "This day great disorderes abord our shipp, both with our owne men and the Dragon's men: first, by drinking drunk, and then by fighting with fistes, in the sight of the Guzurat junkes, to all our great shames and disgrace to our country and nation."

Eighteenth. "This daie our Kinge's letter was sent for by the King of Achin with an ellofant and a chaire of state in the form of a castle upon his back. After went the General to the Court, where he presented the Kinge with a rich present from our kinge; and the King likewise did give unto our General a vest, with Mr Moore and Mr Oliver. He entertayned us with the fightinge of ellofantes, buffeloes, and great rames; and afterwardes was provided a great banquet with many dishes and great store of arack. The banquet was served in dishes of pure gold and silver, brought in towe chestes of gould, which they do use to keep ther betel in, they use to eat of verie much. Great curtesy by the King was offered, and that the country was at our comaund. But our General, as yet not alltogether satisfied, for that he hopeth of furder commerce with the King and at large to deliver his mynd unto him."

Twenty-seventh April. "Our General went to the Embassador of Siam, with whom he did converse of such comodities as in ther countrey were vendible, and likewise of the qualitie of such comodities as were ther to be retourned for England. The Embassador did afirme that the quantitie of 2000 clothes would vent ther in the space of 2 monthes, with diveres other comodities highlie esteemed of. Rials of eight to be worth ther 7s. the riall: raw silk there is great store and cheapp, and likewise benjamyn, better

then that of Achin: and the weight ther greater, for that 4 bahars of Achin makes but 3 at Siam; callicoes of Surat sell well there: black and read hattes: lookinge glasses: birding peeces of the smallest sort being well damaskt. All this the Embassador for certayne did afirme unto our General, and offered to affirme yt with the Kinge's sealle, seameing verie desirous to have comerce with the English. This day he had a child circumcized with great seremonyes after ther fashion."

A few days afterwards "the Embassador of Siam dyned with our General, but sent his owne cookes to dresse his vittualles, and brought his drink with him, being water in great flagons of sillver."

"First May. The King went to recreat himselfe, accompanyd with our General and the Dutch merchants, when they went to a river about 6 or 7 milles from the towne, the King riding upon an ellofant in a chaire of state upon his back. They came to a place wher they washed themselves, the King sitting upon a seat in the midst of the river, with our General and the Dutch merchantes and all his nobles about him in the water, with aboundaunce of people that were spectators on the shoare, his nephew poureing water upon him as he sat, with a golden buckit, for the space of 5 or 6 houres. Then afterwardes they had a great banquet, with aboundaunce of vittuall and arack, dressed after ther maner. Haveing ended the banquet they retourned to the Kinge's pallace with our English trumpettes sounding before them, and women playing and singing before the Kinge; and thus they came to the pallace, wher at that tyme our Generall took leave of his Majestie."

Fourteenth May. The General obtained the King's licence to cut wood upon one of the islands. On the same day, too, he heard of the arrival of a Portugal junk, and that some of the Portugals had gone to the King to inform him of their arrival with the Embassador whom he had

sent to the King of Joar.[1] Next day, the Hoseander, with the Dragon's pinnace, anchored close to the junk. Previously, the Guzerats had offered for a certain sum to land the Portugals and their goods in safety; but all the latter, with the exception of one man, were ashore. He, with some goods, went on board the Guzerat, upon which the Hoseander's boat was sent after him, and he and the goods were brought back to the junk. The junk had on board certain chests and bales, which were said to be for the King. Thomas Hounsel was placed in charge of her. Upon this action, the King sent a messenger to Captain Best, to ask what had the latter done, and whether he intended to act the part of friend or foe. Captain Best satisfied the messenger that his intentions were friendly; and on the following day, in company with the King's Ambassador, he landed, and at an interview with his Majesty, presented him with the junk, everything on board her being intact. The King did kindly accept the gift.

On that day the General bought from the King 40 bahars of benjamin at 25 tael the bahar.

Seventeenth May. An old man, who for his knowledge of cookery and language was employed about the house, was, through the malice of the Shabender, cruelly murdered, the only cause being the "denial of the Kinge's work, because he was then employed by us".

Nineteenth May. The Hoseander, to obtain a supply of wood, crossed over to an island where "we found a great many people with ther armes and leges cut of for offences, which is the Kinge's lawe, haveing one chief apointed governor over them, in regard they should not bee idle, but be imploied in the Kinge's service for the making of brimston".

"And in the tyme of our wooding we found certayne spideres whose weebes were perfect silk, the which our chirurgion hath one to showe."

[1] Johore.

The Hoseander, having parted her cable, was near drifting ashore on this island; but the master, who was on shore, hastened aboard, and having got her under sail worked her off the shore. "But it was more Gode's providence then our men's carefullnes" to which her escape was due.

At Achin the bahar was found to weigh 395$^{lbs.}$, English weight.

Nathaniel Fenn was tried by a jury and condemned to death for having drawn his sword on the General, who, at the urgent request of the Ambassador of Siam, pardoned the culprit, and made him over to that dignitary.

Twenty-sixth May. A letter was received from Mr Canninge, who mentioned that on his way to Agra he had been attacked by thieves; that Hunt and Temple had deserted, carrying with them much money; and that he had heard that Nuno da Cunho was by the Viceroy imprisoned at Goa for returning without commission; also that Chaoul and other places held by the Portugals were besieged by the forces of the Mogul.

Second June. "The Generall, with all our chiefe, went to the court, where before the King we see an ollephant and a tiger maik a cruell feight, his Majestie siting upon an ollephant beholding the sport; which, being ended, the Generall accompanied his Majesty to his pallace, and so took leave."

Fifth June. The General went to Court in hopes of procuring the Kinge's letter of permission to trade at Priaman, and again on the tenth he visited the Court for that purpose, when it was promised to him.

On that day, the tenth, "at the Court, we understood how that about 3 or 4 daies past a nobleman, for lookinge at one of the Kinge's concubynes, was judged by the King to have one of his eyes puled out; another, for wearing a turband extraordinary, had a peece of his skull cut awaie".

Fourteenth June. The General went to Court, when he presented "4 murdereres, 4 tergetes, 6 lances" to the King, who in great courtesy received the gift, and told the General that on his return to England he would send a present to the King.

"At our comeinge awaie from the Court, without the gait we see a man lyinge slayne, and was to lie there till the dogges had eaten his flesh, for comittinge adultery with another man's wiffe."

Seventeenth June. Captain Best presented the King with a model of an English ship, "in which ship he took great pleasure, and did accept of yt and esteeme yt more then a matter of greater worth. The letter was promised within a daie or towe, and many promises of honor and credit to our General for the fame of our nation".

The same day news of the Globe, and of the death of Captain Anthony Hippon[1] was received.

Twentieth June. The General received the King's letter. It was to the effect that the General might at pleasure found a factory at Priaman or Tecoe; all his merchants and people were to be courteously received: a bargain once made to be irrevocable: and to have the same weight in all things as the weight of Achin.

That day, too, the King by water proceeded to the castle, partly for purposes of recreation, and partly to inspect a junk of Surat, which he had confiscated (making slaves of her crew) for having touched at Perak, with which place he was at enmity.

Twenty-first June. The General took the King's letter back to the Rassedor, with reference to the remission of tributes and customs, in conformity with the Articles made between the King's uncle and Sir James Lancaster, in which it was agreed that the English should be privileged

[1] Second in command, under Captain Floris, in the seventeenth voyage, 1611-1615.

to trade in any part or port of the island without paying tribute or customs on goods sold. The Governor of Priaman and Tecoe having ignored this agreement and levied these dues, Captain Best craved redress for these wrongs. The King afterwards promised to grant this remission at Priaman and Tecoe, and at the same time offered to dispose to Captain Best of the cargo of the confiscated junk; but, owing to the conduct of the native officials, the latter was unable to take advantage of that offer.

Twenty-fourth June. The General attended at Court for despatch of business, when he sold the King 168 bahars of iron at 5 tael the bahar.

The same day, the King's letter and present were brought "to our house by a nobleman riding upon an ollephant, accompanied with other towe of the Kinge's chiefe nobles, with musick plaieing before them alongst the streetes, as ther customes is in such affaires which concernes the Kinge. The present was a rich creast of pure gold, set with pretious stones, 8 campher dishes, 4 peeces of fine stuffe, a launce enameld with gould. At the receipt of this present and letter for our King, our Generall did present the 3 nobles with some fyne calico."

"Twenty-sixth June. Our General went to the Court accordinge to the Kinge's desire unto him the daie before, where we see the Kinge in most royall estait comeinge unto his church in most rich array, accompanied with his nobles and chief of his kingdome: from the church retourned unto a grene before his pallace gait, wher he did sit in a rich chaire of state of pure gold: his nobles standinge before him was called one by one in ther degrees to take ther places, which was done by great obeysance in bowing downe ther bodies to the grownd and holdinge upp of ther handes above ther heades. In the midest of the nobles our General was called; and all the rest of the forraine and strange ambassadores, as the honor of ther Kinge and countrey did

deserve. After all the nobles were seatted, inferioures took ther places. The Kinge's guard was 200 great ollephantes compassing the place where he sat, a multitude of people expecting the fighting of ollephantes, which are the greatest and strongest beastes in the world, haveing teeth a yard and a half longe. The feight of the tame ollephantes were both fierce and furious, but the wild ones did far exceed them, for before they could be gotten together they rane amongst the houses, and (with) vehement force of there teeth and trounke did pull them downe, but being once met they maid a most furious feight, and did gore and wound one another with ther teeth most cruellie; growinge weak, the King caused them to be parted. After them came in great rames, which allso maid a good feight. Ther was much sport to be seene; but growing lait, the Kinge did pretermit the rest. The sportes being ended, all the nobles in ther degree rose upp and came before the Kinge, kissed his handes, and so with low obeysaunce going backwardes from his presence; the King sat still till they all had done in forme aforesaid, and then he himself rose upp and took ollephant and repaired to his pallace in great pomp."

Twenty-eighth June. The General proceeded to Court, when the King told him that on that day he could hold no conference, as his army had returned from Joar,[1] bringing back the King of that place as a prisoner, and that many of his nobles were assembled to confer upon matters of state. Thereupon, the General withdrew. The victory was celebrated with great solemnity in both country and city. The fleet consisted of 100 frigates and galleys, some with ordnance, some without, and the army of 20,000 soldiers. A Flemish ship, which had been at Joar, on the approach of the army had put to sea, but her captain, with some twenty of the merchants and mariners, who had been

[1] Johore.

on shoare, were taken prisoners, and others of her crew were slain. Captain Best called on the Fleming to encourage him, and heard from him of Sir Henry Middleton having been at Bantam, and of the death of most of his merchants and men; further, he heard of the Salomon, that the Hector and Thomas were bound for England, and Captain Saris in the Clove for Japan, but no tidings could he obtain of the James, which made him uneasy about that vessel's safety.

Second July. The General being sent for by the King, "we met his Majesty in most roiall state in the waie to the church with great solemnitie. He had for his guard, (who) went before him, 200 great ollephantes, 2000 small shot, 2000 pikes, 200 launces, 100 bowmen, 20 naked swordes of pure gould carried before him; 20 fencers went before him, plaiinge with swordes and tergettes; a horse leed before him, covered with beaten gould, the bridle set with stones; at his sadle-crutch a shafte of arrowes, the quiver of beaten gould set with pretious stones. Before him went his towe sons, of 8 or 9 years ould, arayed with jewelles and rich stones. His Majestie rode upon an ollephant, his sadle of pure gold, his slave behynd him in rich arraye, with his betel boxe, and a fan of pure gold in his hand to keepe the flies from the Kinge. The Kinge's robes were so rich that I cannot well describe them; he had a turband upon his head set with jewelles and pretious stones invalluable; creast and sword of pure gold, the skaberd set with stones. Before him went an ollephant, with a chaire of state covered all with beaten silver, that, if yt should chaunce to rayne, he might change ollephantes. This ollephant had casses made of pure gold to put upon his teeth. From the church he retourned to a place of pleasure prepared for his entertaynement, where his Majestie beinge seated, all his nobles, according to their custome, was called; and all forreyn embassadores, as the

fame of ther countrey did deserve, were seated amongst the nobles. Which being done, we see the feighting of wild and tame ollephantes, buffolos, and rames. Thes pleasures being past, all the nobles, in great obedience, saluted his Majestie at his rising up, and did accompany him to his pallace, where we left him to his concubynes."

On this day, too, the Siamese Ambassador departed from Achin, leaving behind him Fen, whose pardon he had obtained. This Fen, shortly before the vessels sailed, entreated the General to grant him a passage to England, which request Captain Best promised to accede to if Fen would agree to work the passage home. The latter promised to do so, and then asked for money to pay his debts. The General declined to make any such advance, but added that if Fen could find his way on board, the conditions would still be open for his acceptance.

Fifth July. "At our retourne from the Court, we see a man executed for some offence in the warres. He was first laid upon the ground upon his back, and both his eyes pulled out, and after a stake was drove in at his fundement, through all his bodie, and out at the crowne of his head, and being dead his corpes were burned. Another souldier, the daie before, had his eyes puld out, his bodie cloven in tow peeces, and then burned with a doge in his bellie. Another was boyled in oille this daie, which was as cruell a tortuer as the other. These men had comitted some offence in the wars wherby some prejudice had happened."

"The Generall of the Army, for his welcome, because he did not bring the ould King of Joar, who was an ould decreped man, and had assigned his kingdome to his son, was by the King forced to eat a platter of turdes, and afterwardes to wash his bodie in them, to the Kinge's great infamie and dishonour, for so base a thing to be published amongst forreyners and strangers. Allthough this seeme strange, yett yt is trew, as God is in heaven."

Seventh July. The General at last received the Kinge's letter for Priaman and Tecoe, but the King did not keep his promise to remit the customs.

Three days later, a seaman, who had run away, was found at "the Portingailles house", and brought back to the Dragon.

At an interview with the King, the General offered him a fair piece of ordnance, if he would release four of the Guzerats, vizt., the master and his son and the two pilots. As the King would only do so upon payment of a large sum, Captain Best took his leave, "havinge found him allwaies reedie to promise much, and, in the end, to performe litle. But his basenes hath not onelie bene evident to his owne subjectes, but allso unto us in not performeinge what formerlie he had promised unto our General. He diverse tymes shewed us his glorie, but never his loialltie, nor fidellitie, and therefore we will leave him to that infidellitie he doth profess."

Eleventh July. "Our General, hasteninge busines, sent abord 4 or 5 slaves, bought here at 4 or 5 taille."

Fourteenth July. The General having finished all his business, "we sett saille furth of the Rood of Achin, haveinge bene here 3 mounthes and 2 daies, in which tyme we have lost furth of both shipes 25 men. Our General bought and entertayned here about 25, or thereabout, Indeans for to suplie the want of our men deceased, and of Nathaniell Fen left behind at Achin."

"THE QUALITIE OF MONEY AND WEIGHT AT ACHIN."

"Yowe have a great weight called a bahar, which doth conteyne 385lbs. English: yowe have allso a small weight called a cattee, which maikes 2 lbs. English.[1] Yowe have gould: ther coynes called masses, at 9d. the peece:

[1] A bahar at Achin is equal to 200 *cattis*, or 423 lbs. 8 oz.

and 5 goes for a peece of 8: yowe have also lead money, of which 1000 maikes a masse, called casse: ther also doth harres go currant at 9ds. the peece, and 5 to a peece of 8; sometimes they go at a higher rate. This money is curant all the Indes over, and much profit gotten by the exchange of them."

"This Island of Sumatra, alliis called Ophir, from whence Sallomon had his gould, as the Scriptures in divers places maikes mention. They do professe Mahamat's Lawe, as for the most part of Asia and Africa doth. They have no church nor churchyard, but buries ther dead in the corner of streetes. This Citie of Achin lieth within 6 degrees of the Equanoctiall lyne, which maikes yt so exceedinge hot, yet the people countynually goeth bare-headed and bare-footed, and so doth the Kinge and all his nobles and chief of the land. Thes people are great swimmers and divers in generall, women as well as men: they teach ther children thes arts in ther infancie, so they become verie exquisite in ther perfect aige: this swimming they hould to be a great preservac̄on of ther health, for which cause they dailie exercise yt as the custome of eatinge and drinking. This island (is) verie rich, and plentie of fruit, yet the comon sort of people lives upon an erbe called Beetle, by which they fynd great sustenance, so that this aforesaid herbe and tobacco is ther ordinarie food both to men and women. The Kinge hath one loyall wife, whose child doth posesse the crowne: he hath also threskore concubynes; for where he heres of a proper woman, eyther in citie or countree, he sendeth for hir to the Court; allthoughe she bee maried she must come, and if hir husband seeme unwillinge or loath to part from hir, then he presentlie comaundes hir husbande's member to be cutt of, and oftentymes worse punishments. If the Kinge have more sones then one, when he dies they are all put to death, save the eldest, or conveyed furth of the kingdome into some other coun-

tree, because they shall not contend for the crowne after the Kinge's death. If a subject die without heire male, his goodes and landes falles to the Kinge, and the wife with hir daughters go begge. Many nations have trade for this island, more for the comoditties yt affordes then the affabillitie of the people, for they are both inhumayne and base, and much unworthie to inhabite so sweet a countree."

From the twenty-fifth of July to the end of the month, the weather was very bad, with much wind, rain, and lightning. "Divers of the Dragon's men and ours fell sick by intemperat and corupted aire."

The master of the Hoseander shaped his course for Tecoe, by the "directions of Capt. Keelinge and Daves, ther journalles", and anchored in the road of that island on the Seventh of August.

The Governor of the Island sent off two officers to enquire whether the General had their King's letter, which was then shown to them. They then spake of the death of Sir Henry Middleton at Bantam. On the following day, Captain Best, upon landing, was received by the chiefs, to whom he presented the letter. Having read the letter, the chiefs assured the General that he was free to trade where he pleased at reasonable prices; and that they would inform the Governor of Priaman of the letter, as it concerned him. Captain Best thereupon offered to convey their messengers to that island in his smaller ship. At the close of the interview, the General was invited to visit the city, but declined on the ground of the great heat.

At Tecoe the merchants found, upon landing, that the price of pepper was 16 to 18 rials the bahar, but no price fixed as a certainty.

Twelfth August. The Hoseander was despatched by the General to Priaman, where she arrived on the following day. The Governor of that Island was "much discontented" that the vessels had not touched there, being the chief port

of those parts, previous to going to Tecoe, and because the King's letter was directed to him. When Mr Oliver, merchant of the Hoseander, had presented the royal letter, the Governor assured him that he was privileged to trade there. Mr Oliver having enquired if the people of Priaman would carry their pepper to Tecoe, the Governor replied that in former times the people of Tecoe had brought pepper to Priaman, but that his people had never carried any to Tecoe, and never would do so; and if the General wished to send a ship to Priaman, they would within two months have their pepper, about 2000 bahars, ready either to sell for rialls, or to truck for calico. The price of such pepper to be the same as that purchased at Tecoe, and the pepper to be delivered at the seaside in the place where Captain Keeling and others had received their purchases.

This business being concluded, the Hoseander returned to Tecoe.

Having at Tecoe received some stores from the Dragon, and exchanged some of her lading, the Hoseander was on the twenty-first of August despatched by the General on a voyage to Bantam.

"Twenty-sixth August. Being in 3 degrees or theraboutes to the southward of Priaman, in our vaige to Bantam, we had most cruell and fearfull wether by thunderinge, lightninge, and raine for many daies together, but especiallie one night and a daie. I maie truelie saie that the greatest cannon in all the world, when it was fired, did never roare as the thunder heere did, with lightning and raine in such aboundance as I never in my life heard the like: and I do furder think that in England yt never rayned so much in 6 daies as here yt did in 24 houres. It was both wonderfull and miraculous to behold, and did justlie verifie the sayinge of that worthie Profit David in his 107 Psalme, where yt is said, that they that go downe to the sea in shipes and occupie by great waters, those men doth see the wounders

of the Lord. And God of his mercie graunt that we all that heard and see thes wounders and workes of the Lord maie to his glorie maik use of the 31 verse of the same Psalme."

Twenty-ninth August, 1613. "This daie by extremitie of wether, we splitt our maine topesaile, and this night sunk our skiffe at the shipp sterne." [Here the journal concludes abruptly.][1]

[1] The original manuscript consists of 67¼ folio pages. At the Reverse of the Journal the Wills of Robert Heal, Oliver Judson, and Robert Portman, are entered. Also there are entries, each of a few lines on a page, of various debts to be paid by different members of the crew upon the return of the vessel to England. These entries, and the Index to them, are scattered over sixty-one pages.

A CALENDAR

OF THE

SHIPS' JOURNALS PRESERVED IN THE INDIA OFFICE[1]

(WRITTEN WITHIN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY).

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1. An abstract from the Journal of the third voyage under Captains Keeling and Hawkins, 1607. (See page 108.)
2. Another abstract of the third voyage. (See page 111.)
3. A third abstract of the third voyage. (See page 113.)
4. The voyage of Captain Sharpeigh, being the fourth voyage, 1608. (See page 120.)
   Another account of the fourth voyage, commanded by Captain Sharpeigh. (See page 126.)
5. Journal of the Master of the "Peppercorn", 1610 to 1611. (See page 145.)
6. Journal of Thomas Love, a master's mate in the "Trade's Increase", Sir Henry Middleton, 1610 to 1612. (See page 147.)
7. Journal of Nicholas Downton, second in command of the fleet under Sir Henry Middleton, 1610 to 1613. Original manuscript comprises 214 pages. (See page 151.)
8. Instructions to Lawrence Femell. (See page 131.)
   Commission to Sir Henry Middleton. (See page 137.)
9. This manuscript is a translation of the Journal kept by Peter Williamson Floris, a Dutchman in the service

[1] The numbers are those on the backs of the volumes in the India Office.

of the East India Company, who commanded the "Globe" on the seventh voyage set forth by the Company. The journal begins Jan. 5th, 1611, and ceases abruptly on Feb. 17th, 1615. It contains an account of the trade carried on along the Coast of Coromandel, at Bantam, Siam, and Batavia, with a slight sketch of the history of the kingdom of Siam, and an account of a revolt of Javanese slaves, by whom part of the town of Batavia was burnt while the "Globe" was lying in the roads. The original manuscript contains 142½ pages.

After trading at Masulipatam on the Coromandel coast, Floris proceeded to Bantam, and thence to Batavia, at which place his colleague Captain Hippon died. He was succeeded by Thomas Easington.

10. This manuscript was written by Thomas Best, the General of the tenth voyage. [The 8th[1] and 9th are missing from the India Office.] Best's Journal embraces a period of 2½ years, 1612-13. He gives a brief account of the events which happened at Swally, of the treaty of commerce made with the Governors of Surat and Ahmedabad, which was afterwards ratified by the Mogul, of his fight with four Portuguese ships, his reception at Achin, his visit to Teko and Bantam, the voyage home, and a description of St. Helena. The courses, winds, variations, latitude and longitude (the latter generally from the meridians of the Cape of Good Hope or of Bantam) are entered for each day, and there is frequent men-

[1] The eighth voyage was that commanded by Captain Saris (1611), who went to Japan. The manuscript, through gross carelessness, was allowed to disappear. It was purchased some years ago from Mr. Kerslake, a bookseller at Bristol, and is now in the Topographical Depôt of the War Office. The ninth voyage was that commanded by Edmund Marlowe (1611).

tion of soundings and currents. After leaving St. Helena, more than half the ship's company was attacked by scurvy, and two died, though there was plenty of bread, wine, beef, rice, oil, vinegar, and sugar. The original manuscript contains 46 folio pages.

11. This manuscript, of 66 folio pages, contains extracts from seven different logs, issued "by way of instructions". The first and fourth extracts refer to the voyage of the "Dragon" and "Hoseander". The second extract, taken from Captain Best's Journal, contains directions for a voyage to Socotra and Diu. The third is from a journal kept in Captain Keeling's fleet in 1615. The fifth is a copy of sailing directions for a voyage to the East Indies and Bantam. The sixth has reference only to soundings in the English Channel. The seventh is taken from the journal of Alexander Childe, Captain of the "James". It contains an account of the destruction of a Portuguese carrack off the Island of Mohila, and of Captain Childe's voyage from Swally to Jask in Persia, and back.

12. Journal of the tenth voyage kept by Ralphe Crosse, the purser on board the "Hoseander". The fleet sailed from Gravesend on the 3rd of February 1612. The manuscript consists of 67¼ folio pages. (See page 228.)

13. This is a Journal kept by Edward Dodsworth, merchant, who was in the second Joint Stock Voyage (1614-15) under Captain Keeling. It contains an account of the vexatious conduct of Muhrab Khan, the Governor of Surat, of Dodsworth's journey to Ahmedabad to buy indigo, and of the return in the "Hope". He mentions meeting Crosse and his companions, left at the Cape of Good Hope to explore. The original manuscript contains 54 folio pages.

14. Journal of John Monden, master's mate of the "Hector", which sailed from Gravesend on the 28th of February 1614, in company with the "Hope" and the "Salomon". They anchored off Swally in October 1614, and returned in June 1617. The manuscript consists of 53 folio pages, and is merely a log in tabular form.

15. An original manuscript of 15½ pages, consisting of the log of a voyage to Surat in 1614, and another of 3¼ pages, being a letter written from Surat to some one in England, dated February 27th, 1615. It describes an attempt by the Portuguese Viceroy to destroy the Company's vessels.

16. The Journal of Edmund Sayer, from December 7th, 1615, to October 22nd, 1616. Sayer was with Captain Adams on board the junk "Sea Adventure", which sailed from Firando in Japan, and arrived in Siam on January 9th, 1616. From that time until February 26th, Sayer was engaged in negotiations for obtaining lading for the junk. In June 1616 he left Bangkok on his return voyage to Japan. This manuscript consists of 35½ pages. Another of four pages contains a list of articles given as presents in Siam. Further entries of values of articles bought and sold extend over five pages; and there is also part of the log of a voyage from Cochin China in July 1617, 2½ pages.

17. This book contains Journals of two voyages, the one from Batavia to Japan, the other from Firando to Bantam, in 1616: both are daily records of the courses, winds, and latitude, 12½ and 13½ pages. There are also 25 pages of notes of soundings taken when approaching Bantam, on the islands to the west of Borneo, and of soundings between Pulo Condor and Cambodia, with outlines in pencil of several islands.

18. The Journal of John Borden, from April 1616 to June 1617, on board the "Clove", which sailed from England in company with the "Defence", and anchored in Bantam Roads on December 29th, 1615, returning to the Downs in June 1617. The log consists of 29½ pages. On the cover there is an indenture of a lease, dated 8 July, 1608, of a piece of void ground by Wapping Wall, granted to John Browne of Limehouse (mariner), by Edward Chandler of Wapping (shipwright).

19. This is another Journal of Edmund Sayer, a merchant on board the "good junk of Captain Addamses", which sailed from Firando for Cochin China in March 1617. Adams and Sayer went to Cochin China to learn the fate of two Englishmen, who, three years before, had been sent with letters to the King of Cochin China, and who, it was reported, had been killed. They also wished to obtain liberty to trade and to found a factory. They were told that the men, named Peacocke and Carwarden,[1] had been accidentally drowned. Sayer obtained silk and other lading, and sailed for Japan on July 1st, 1617. The Journal is comprised in 15¼ pages. A list of wood and hides delivered out of the "Sea Adventure", and notes of the receipt of copper and of cash extend over nine pages; and there are 3½ pages of a journal kept by Sayer at Firando, from August 1618 to January 1619, in the absence of Captain Cocks and Mr. Nealson at Miako.

20. Journal of Captain Robert Adams from March 1617 to December 1618, in the Seventh Joint Stock Voyage. The fleet consisted of the "James Royal", with Captain Martin Pringle as chief commander of the

[1] See *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial (East Indies)*, 1617-21, No. 277.

voyage; the "Ann Royal";[1] the "New Year's Gift"; the "Bull", in which Adams was master; and the "Bee", a pinnace. They went to Swally, and the "Bull" returned home in December 1618. The manuscript consists of 29½ pages.

21. The Journal of John Rowe, in the "Expedition", to which vessel he was appointed by the "Lorde Ambassador" in 1618, to go from Surat to Jask. He recommends Gomberoon as a better place for the English trade than Jask. The Journal, consisting of 9¼ pages, gives a brief account of the voyage to Jask, and of the return voyage to Swally.

22. The Journal of Richard Bragge, master's mate on board the "Moon", bound for Bantam, from July to November 1618. The manuscript consists of five pages.

23. The Journal of Henry Crosby, master's mate on board the "Charles", from 1618 to 1624; the other vessels of the fleet being the "Ruby", the "Diamond", the "Palsgrave", the "Elizabeth", and the "Hope". Crosby served afterwards in a joint fleet of English and Dutch to intercept the Portuguese shipping. He gives winds, courses, latitudes, and longitudes, by dead reckoning. The manuscript consists of 53¼ pages.

24. The Journal of Archibald Jennison, on board the "London", commanded by Captain Andrew Shillinge, from 1620 to 1622. The fleet consisted of the "London", the "Hart", and the "Roebuck". Jennison was at Surat and Jask. His journal consists of 37¼ pages.

[1] William Baffin, the Arctic Navigator, was master's mate of the "Ann Royal", and on October 1st, 1619, the Company granted him a gratuity for his pains and "good art" in drawing out certain plots of the coast of Persia and the Red Sea. On his return, he joined the "London", Captain Shilling, as master.

25. The Journal of Captain Richard Swan of the "Roebuck" (300 tons), from 1620 to 1622. This was one of the ships of Captain Shilling's fleet. Captain Swan describes his voyage to Surat, his fight with Portuguese ships off Jask, the attempt to reach the Red Sea before the change of the monsoon, his wintering at Massera,[1] and the homeward voyage. It contains 68 pages. The commander of the voyage, Captain Shilling, was mortally wounded in the sea-fight with the Portuguese, and was succeeded by Captain Richard Blith of the "Hart" (500 tons). Captain Shilling was buried on shore at Jask.[2]

26. The Journal of Captain Richard Swanley, on board the "Exchange", from 1620 to 1624. Swanley served under Captain Fitzherbert. The "Exchange" sailed with the "Roebuck", "Hart", and "Eagle"; but soon afterwards parted company with them. Swanley records an earthquake at sea, in latitude 6° 50′ S. "Our men that were below came runninge upp alofte crieing out, 'Lord have mercie upon us, what shall wee doe?' I being present upon the deck, answeared, 'Braile upp the maine saile and mizen!' and hove the leade presentlie, and had no ground." The "Exchange" was in the combined English and Dutch fleet, on the coast of Mozambique, and her

[1] Masirah, an island thirty-four miles long, off the coast of Arabia, from which it is distant nine miles. The island is quite barren.

[2] See *Calendar of State Papers* (East India), 748-758. William Baffin, the great Arctic Navigator, was in this voyage as master of the "London". He was present at a consultation touching the outward passage of the fleet (824); and at another on board the "London" in Soldania Bay, on July 20th, 1620, as to whether it would be better to go within or without St. Lawrence or Madagascar (852). Purchas thus describes the death of Baffin:—"In the Indies he dyed in the late Ormus businesse, slain in fight with a shot, as he was trying his mathematicall projects and conclusions."

cruise in the east extended over four years and a half. The writing is in parts much faded—112 pages.

27. The Journal of John Wood. He was in the fleet consisting of the "Anne" (700 tons), Walter Bennet, chief commander; the "Lesser James" (500 tons), of which John Wood was master; and the "Fortune", of 200 tons, Robert Burgess, master; with two small vessels to be employed in making discoveries about the Cape, the "Rose" (100 tons), John Jonson, and the "Richard" (20 tons), Robert Dame. They sailed on January 14th, 1621, and the Journal ends in May of the same year. It is in tabular form, and records the navigation from England to the Cape, 14½ pages. He touched at Cape Verde and Sierra Leone.

28. The Journal of Richard Swanley, on board the "Jonas", which sailed in company with the "Whale", "Dolphin", and "Lion", in March 1621. The "Jonas" returned home in July 1623. The Journal is merely a tabular log, covering 91 pages.

29. This manuscript contains parts of the logs of the "Palsgrave", "Bull", and "Anne Royal", from November 1621 to September 1622. The writer was on board the "Moon". These ships, in company with four Dutch vessels, sailed from Firando to cruise off Manilla. The first part is comprised in 22 pages, the part of the "Bull's" Journal 5½ and the "Anne Royal's" 1½ pages. Three fragments.

30. Log of the "Elizabeth". A voyage from Batavia to Achin in 1623. 18½ pages.

31. A Journal of John Bickley's voyage into the East Indies in 1622, he being commander of the "Hart", set

forth by William Halladaye,[1] Alderman and Governor of the East India Company. The "Hart" went to Batavia, thence to the coast of Coromandel, and back to Batavia, returning home in October 1624. A manuscript of 98 pages.

32. *(Lost.)*

33. *(Lost.)*

34. The Journal of Richard Monck, from the Downes to Surat in the ship "Great Thames", in company with the "Jonas", "Starre", "Eagle", and two small pinnaces, the "Spie" and "Scout", from 1624 to 1626. On the right-hand pages are tabular forms, giving date, course, distance, latitude, departure, longitude, variation, and winds; remarks on the left hand. A manuscript of 42 pages.

35. The Journal of Robert Fox, from the Downes to Surat, in the "Royal James", Captain John Weddell, and the "James", "Jonas", "Starre", "Eagle", and two pinnaces, "Spie" and "Scout". 1624. 49 pages.

36. Journal of William Maynor, master's mate of the "Eagle". 1624. 86 pages.

37. Journal of John Vian, in the "Discovery", from 1616 to 1628. The fleet was composed of the "William", "Blessing", "Discovery", and "Christopher", with six Dutch ships in company. Vian was a master's mate. The manuscript consists of 91 pages.

38. Journals of David Davies, John Wyne, Thomas Wehnan, and Henry Richards, master's mates of the "Discovery", and of William Slade, the purser. 110 pages.

39. Master Andrew Warden's Journal in the "William". 1626 to 1628. 105 pages.

40. A Journall or Note of Remembrances from England to

[1] On July 4th, 1621, Mr. Halladaye was elected to succeed Sir Thomas Smith as Governor of the East India Company.

Cape Bonsprans, by me, Abraham Sayers, in the good ship called the "Hopewell", outwards, and in the "Starr", homewards. 1626. 85 pages.

41. The Journal of John Pashley in the "Hart", 1626; conveying the Persian Ambassador[1] to Gombroon. 102 pages.
42. The Journal of Howard Austin, master's mate in the "Hart", during the voyage to Surat from 1626 to 1629. 93 pages.
43. The Journal of Peter Andrewes, master's mate of the "Mary", "Hart", and "Hopewell", successively, from 1627 to 1629. 74 pages.
44. The Journal of Daniel Hall, master's mate of the "Hopewell", in 1627. 37 pages.
45. The Journal of John Grant in the "Mary Royall", from Bantam to England in 1629. 21 pages.
46. A Journal kept by John Vian, from England to India and Persia, and back in the "Discovery", Captain John Biskall. 1629 to 1631. 85 pages.
47. *(Lost.)*
48. The Journal of Nicholas Prin to Surat, in the "Charles", 1629. The "Charles", "Discovery", "Reformation", "London", and "Samuel", sailed together. 35 pages.
49. The Journal of Nicholas Sharpe, master's mate of the "Charles", 1629 to 1630.
50. The Journal of George Marriatt, master's mate in the "William", 1629. A mere tabulated log.
51. A Journal kept by me, Andrew Warden, from Douvar Rode to the Easte Eniges, in the ship "Blessinge", which God preserve. 1629.
52. A Remembrance from the Bays of Poulambia to Suratt, August to November 1631; Surat to Gombroon,

[1] Sir Robert Sherley and his Circassian wife. The English Envoy, Sir Dodmore Cotton, with Thomas Herbert, was in the "Rose".

January to February 1632; Gombroon to Surat, and Surat homewards.

53. Richard Forder's Journal in the "Palsgrave", 1632.
54. "A Journal kept by me, William Spere", 1632.
55. John Muckrell's Journal in the "Coaster" and the "Jewell", 1633 to 1637.
56. William Bayley's Journal in the "Mary", 1635. A very full record, but much decayed.
57. A Continuation of the China voyage by Captain Weddell's fleet, 1637.
58. James Birkedell's Journal of the ship "London" to Surat and Gombroon, 1639 to 1640.
59. "A Journall of this my second voyage in the 'Hopewell' to the coast of Coromandell and other parts of the East Indies and South Seas, being in all my eighth voyage to those parts, for which the Lord let me never forget to give thanks and praise and bless thy holy name, 1641." A relation of a voyage to Macao in China, from Surat, in the ship "Hinde", William Broadbent, 1644. The Supercargo's account, 1645.
60. Richard Mathew's Journall, begun in April from Surat to China; with sketches of coasts and promontories, 1644.
61. "In the name of God, a Journall or Day Booke kept by mee, Antonio Fenn, master's mate of the 'Eagle', Thomas Stevens, commander, of observations and dayes works and keeping of the shipps way of navigation from England to India, having in our company the 'Falcon' and 'Lannarett'. 1644."
62. A Journall of a Voyadge to East India in ye shipp "Concorde", Captn Roger Kilvert, commander. Ralph Hodgkines, his booke. 1659 to 1660.
63. Journal and Log from Bantam homewards, 1661.
64. A Jornall beegon and kept by me, Edward Newell, master's mate of ye ship "London", bound to Ban-

tam, 1661, with a bill of all the men that proceed the voyage.

65. A Journall keept by William Basse in ye good ship "London", belonging unto ye Honble East India Company; in a Voyaige to India. God Allmighty dercckte us and steare our course in the year 1672.

66. A Journall kept by me, John Stead, of an intended voyadge from Madras towards Bantam, in ye ship "Triplekaine", her first voyadge in 1675. Also from Bantam to Madras, and from Madras to England in y^e^ "Suratt".

67. Journall of a passadge from Bantam to China in the "Flying Eagle", in 1678; with instructions for sailing from Batavia to Piscadore; also, from Bantam to Siam and Tonquin, 1680.

68. Journal of Captain Jonathan Hide in the "President", 1679 to 1681.

69. *(Lost.)*

70. A Journal of a voyage from England to Bantam and back, by Captain John Bowers. This is a very meagre log. 1681.

71. Journal in the ship "Carolina", 1682 to 1683, John Harding, commander.

72. Voyage to Bombay and Surat, 1683 to 1684, in the "Massingberd", Captain Joseph Haddock.

73. *(Lost.)*

74. Journal in the "Sampson", Captain E. Ledger, 1684, to Surat and Gombroon. Kept by Abraham Martoll, master's mate.

75. Journel kept by William Perse, in this my ninth voyage to India, begun in September 1686, on board the "Bengall Merchant".

76. *(Lost.)*

77. Journal of Captain W. Heath, in the ship "Defence", on a voyage to Fort St. George and Bencoolen.

78. *(Lost.)*
79. Nathaniel Ball, his book. 1688. Our westward voyage to look out for ships expected home by the Honorable East India Company, in the "John and Rachell", Robert Cox, captain.
80. Voyage to Fort St. George and Bengal, in the ship "Chandos"; a journal kept by John Bonnell.
81. A fragment much damaged by rats and damp. A journal from Bengal to Fort St. George. By Captain John Willson. 1693.
82. A Journal by Captain John Lloyd, in the ship "Nassau", bound for Surat and Persia. 1674 to 1695.
83. Journal of the ship "Benjamin", from St. Jago towards Surat.
84. Voyage of the ship "Bull", belonging to the king of Bantam, to Malacca and Madras. 1696.
85. Journal of the voyage of the frigate "Russell" to India, in 1695.
86. *(Lost)*
87. Journal of the voyage of the ship "Chambers", Captain T. South, to India, in 1695.
88. Journel of remarkable occurrences in the ship "Charles II", kept by John Dorrill, commander, from England to India and back. 1695 to 1698.
89. Journel of the ship "Sidney", from the Thames to Bengal, kept by William Gifford, commander. 1695 to 1698.
90. Journal of the ship "Sampson" to Madras and Bengal, kept by William Erle, commander, from 1696 to 1698. [He speaks of "the bay which the Dutch call Table Bay, and some Englishmen erroneously Saldania Bay".]
91. Journal of the ship "Madras", Captain Benjamin Prickman, kept by Zachary Toucy, second mate, on a voyage to Madras, in 1682.

92. A voyage to Madras. A badly kept log. No ship mentioned. 1696.

93. Another copy of Benjamin Prickman's log, in the "Madras". 1696.

94. A carelessly kept and incomplete log, kept on board the ship "Amity", on the coast of Sumatra, in 1697.

95. A meagre and incomplete log of the voyage of the ship "Thomas", to India, in 1698.

96. *(Lost.)*

97. Journal of the ship "Josiah" to Bengal, by Captain Stratton. 1698 to 1700.

98. Journal of the voyage of the ship "Fleet Friggott", kept by John Merry, commander. She was 280 tons, 22 guns, and 57 men. The voyage was to Batavia and Amoy, in China.

99. *(Lost.)*

100. Journal of the voyage of the "London", Captain George Matthew, from 1689 to 1701, to the Hugly. On February 19th, 1700, the President, Sir Edward Littleton, put on board his despatches in the Hugly.

101. Journal of a voyage to Fort St. George in the ship "Neptune", 1699, by John Lesly.

102. Account of the voyage of the ship "Hampshire", to Cadiz, and thence to Bombay. 1699.

103. Invoice of goods on board the "Macclesfield" galley, Captain John Kerle, bound for China or India for account of the Honble East India Company (£25,036), Captain Kerle (£400). A Journal of the voyage by Robert Douglas, supercargo, to Canton. 1699.

104. Journal of a voyage in the ship "Antelope", Henry Hammond, commander, 1699. Much worm-eaten.

105. A Journal kept on board the ship "Belfast", Captain John Hudson, by Robert Hudson, on a voyage to Surat in 1699.

106. *(Lost.)*

107. *(Lost.)*
108. *(Lost.)*
109. Journal of a voyage to Borneo in the ship "Julia", by Charles Coatsworth. 1699.
110. The ship "Trumball", sailing in y_e Channel to Cadiz, Java, Batavia, Amoy, Borneo, Chusan, and home. 1699 to 1702.
111. Journal of a voyage in the "King William", Captain Braddyk, bound to Madras. 1699 to 1701. Kept by W. Goodfellow.
112. A journal of a voyage in the "King William". Much damaged by damp.
113. *(Lost.)*
114. A voyage in the "Trumball" galley, to Borneo, commander Henry Duffield. 1699.
115. A Journal of the voyage of the ship "Anna" to Bengal. 1699 to 1701.[1]

[1] This finishes the logs in the seventeenth century. The first log with a printed form and headings is No. 130; the voyage of the "Samuel and Anna", Captain Reddell, 1702 to 1703.

H.	K.	F.	C.	W.	Obser-vations.	Diff. Lat.	Dep.	Lat. Acc.	Mer. Dist.	Long. Acc.

JOURNAL

OF

THE VOYAGE OF JOHN KNIGHT

TO SEEK

THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE,[1]

1606.

O my most gracious and mercifull God, I do acknowledge that I most myghtly offended thee.

The Journall of John Knight after he went from the Orcades or Orkney, on the northe parte of Scotland, the 12th of May, 1606, to seeke out the passage by the nor-west betweene Gronland and America.[2]

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[1] The manuscript of this Journal has escaped destruction, and is preserved in the India Office.

[2] On another piece of paper, pasted on the back:—

"East India Compánie.

"1606.

"12 May, 1606, from Orkney or Orcades, to seeke the North-West Passage between Gronland and America, in the shipp.

"No. 19."

See *Thresh ɔld of the Unknown Region* (4th Edition), p. 132 (*note*).

THE JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN JOHN KNIGHT[1] TO SEEK THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE, 1606.[2]

MONDAY, the 12th May, I set saile from St. Margaret's Sound in Orkney being 9 aclock in the morninge our course West and be South, and at 8 o'clock at nyght the hill called Hoys bore west sotherly 11 or 12 leags and the Stack S and by Est esterly: 3 leags and ½ the winde being at Est South est. Monday, 12 May.

Tuesday the 13th beinge for the most part callme and somtymes a freshe gale of wind our course west and be southe ½ a point southerly. This day I came by 2 small Ilands, the one of them called the Cleat, and the other is

[1] Purchas adds "which had been at Groenland once before 1605: Captain of a pinnasse of the King of Denmarke."

[2] Purchas (iii, p. 827, lib. IV, cap. XVI) gives extracts from this Journal, and thirteen lines at the beginning, which have been lost from the manuscript, as follows:—

"I set sayle from Gravesend in a barke of 40 tunnes, called the Hopewell, April 18, 1606, victualled and manned at the cost of the Worshippfull Companies of Muscovie, and the East India merchants, for the discoverie of the N.-W. Passage; and arrived the 26 of the same month in the Isle of Orkney, in a Sound called Pentlefrith. Here we were stayed with contrary winds at W. and N.W., and with much storme and foule weather, about a fortnight. In which mean space I entertained two men of this country, which are both lustie fellows at sea and land, and are well acquainted with all the harbours of these north parts of Scotland. These men brought us into a very good harbour called Saint Margaret's Hope, where we had the sea open to us for all winds that are good for us to proceed on our voyage. In this country we find little worthie of relation. For it is poore, and hath no wood growing upon it. Their corne is barley and oates. Their fire is turffe; their houses are low and unseemly without, and as homely within."

Tuesday, 13 May. called the Rum.[1] They are distant 4 leages asunder. The course betweene them is S.W. and N.Est. The Sothernmost is called the Cleat. and is the lesser of the twayne. It is distant from the North-Est part of the Lewis called the Blinghed[2] 7 leages and the course betwixt them is northwest and south-est. Also this Blinghed is from the Farro hed of the Heeland of Scotland west and be north ½ a pointe westerly and is distant 17 leages. Also the course between Blinghed and the norwest of the Lewis is west and be south a point westerly; and fayre lowe land smooth w^th^out wood. Ther is good ridinge all alongst the shore the winde being off the lande, and in some places very good harbors against all winds: from 8 to 12 at nyght 6 legs west S West.

Wednesday.—The morninge we had a fresh gale of wind est north est, our course sou-west and be west 2 howers 5

Wednesday, 14 May. leagus from 2 to 10 SW and E by S: 20 leagues from 10 to 12 west sou west 6 leages; lattytud at noone 58 degs. 27 min. E.L. 30 min. ☉ ampld 55 deg. from the est to the norwards the observation mad in the morn.

From Wednesday at noone tyll Thursday at noone for the

Thursday, 15 May. most prt. rayne and fogg. The wind at no^r^est and be est, our course west ½ a point sotherly. Our latytud at noone being Thursday 58 deg. 23 min.

From Thursday at noone 15th tyll Friday at noone being the 16th our way mad west sotherly aboute 20 leagus: lattytud at noone 58 degs. 19 min. This nyght the wind was some tymes variable betwixt the south and be west and south est. with fayre weather, the magneticall declination

Friday, 16. 18 deg. height of the pole 58 deg. 10 min. also in the morning the ☉ being 10 deg. above the horison was distant from the est to the northwards of the est 22 deg.

From Fryday at noone tyll midnyght lyttle wind sotherly

[1] North Rona: the other North Barra.

[2] Butt of Lewis.

and some tymes callme: from mydnyght tyle 12 at noone the next day a stife gale of wind at est northest this 24 howers our way judged to be made a good west some thinge sotherly 30 leagues. Latt at noone 58 deg. 10 min. allso the ⊙ did reise 50 degs. to the no^{r}wards of the est. Saturday, 17.

From Sattu^{r}day at noone being the 17. tyll Sunday at noone being the 18th ou^{r} course west and be south a stife gale of wind esterly. 50 leas, being close wether noe observation of the lattytued. Sonday, the 18.

From Sonday at noone being the 18th tyll Monday at noone the 19th stood away west and west and be sowth amongst havinge a storme at est and be north: our course west and southerly 50 leag. Monday, the 19.

From Monday at noone being the 19th tyll mydnyght corse west and southerly and from that tyll noone west and be northe and west amongst. I judged we sayled 40 leas this 24 howers being for the most prt. foggie: lattytud at noone 57 deg. 50 min. Tuesday, the 20.

From noone 20th being Teusday to noone 21. be. Wednsday our course west and be north 45 leagues being foggie wether and no observation, here we had a current which I juge setteth to the northwards. Wednesday, 21st.

From Wednesday at noone to thursday at noone beinge the 22, our course west and be north 50 leages with muche fogge and close wether and muche wind at no^{r} est and be est. Thursday, 22.

From thursday at noone till midnyght o^{r} course west and be north then the wind northed we tooke in our mayne course it blowing very much winde storme and rayne. I spooned away with our fore sayle tyll Friday the 23rd, the wind being at no^{r} no^{r} est I juged our course west south west the 12 howers that I spooned, about 15 leagues and sawe many gulls, and much rock weed. Friday, 23.

From friday at noone tyll sattorday at noone the 24th I juged our way to be made good southwest and by west butt

prooved west and be south rather westerly 20 leagues by
Satorday, the 24. reason of a corrent that I juged setteth to the northwards
lattytud at noone 57 deg. 53 min. variable about a pointe to
the westwards this forenoone and all nyght the wind was at
northe a very hard gale, we spooned with our foresayle;
allso this forenoone we sawe much sea tange and rock weed.

From Sattorday the 24th at noone tyll Sunday at noone
being the 25, our course southed about 20 leagues the wind
Sonday, 25. being northerly. This day we sawe much rockweed and
drift wood lattytud 57 degrees: varyatyon to the westwards
13 deg. thereabouts the ⊙ beinge 5 deg. high in the morn-
inge was 24 degrees to the northward of the est.

From Sonday at noone tyll 2 o'clock the next day in the
Monday, 26. morning being Monday the 26th of May our course west
north west our way made west and by north 20 leags
having a fresh gale at southest and be est then it fel callme
tyll 4 aclock then it blew an esy gale at west southwest we
stemminge norwest and between that and nor no est the
wind beinge variable, the wind freshed towards noone. This
morning we saw an owle.

From Monday at noone tyll 12 a clocke at nyght we had
by the wind westerly I judged our way made 8 leagues
Tewsday, 27. north then it was callme tyll 4. The next morning being
teusday the 27 then it blewe an esy gale sotherly till noone
our way I judged west and be north 5 leagues. This morning
we sawe many files and rockweed also I observed the ⊙
beinge 43 deg. 20 min. above the horison the ⊙ being 42
deg. 20 min. to the southard of the west.

From tewsday at noone tyll 4 o'clock it was calme then it
Wednsday, the 28. blewe a fresh gale esterly our course west and be north tyll
sonsett then I observed the ⊙ ampletud and found it to
sett 29 deg. to the westward of the northe. This nyght and
all day we had very black water. We contynewed the sotherly
course tyll 2 aclock the next morninge being wednesday
the 28th. The sea water seemed brownishe and as thik as

pudle. Then the wind cam northerly our course for the most part west and be north 24 leagues from noone to noone our way made good, the lattytud at noone 57 deg. 57 min. var. 14½. This day we had black water and many overfalls stremleches and setts of currents, as it seemed to thr northwards and som to the westward, the wind northerly. I judged our way to be made from noone tyll midnyght 15 leagues west and be north and from mydnyght tyll noone beinge wednesday. the 28. Wednesday, the 28th.

From wednesday at noone tyll 4 aclock the next morning south west and be north 10 leagues then it began to blowe a storm at est southest our course as before tyll noone. 16 leagues being close and foggie wether being thursday the 29th of May 1606.[1] Thursday, 29.

From thursday at noone tyll 4. in the afternoone our coorse west and be north 10 leagues then we tooke in our sayles and spooned with our fore course tyll mydnyght then we made more sayle and so contynewed our course tyll noone 30 leagues being fryday the 30th of May our lattytued found 58 deg. Here it seemed that we were in a tydgate which I judged to sett north and southe, or itt was the eddy corrent of which we sawe yesterdaye, allso we sawe white fowles which cheped lyke sparrow haucs, also we sawe dryvinge many dead cuttels.[2] Fryday, the 30.

From fryday at noone tyll 2 o'clock the next morninge. Itt was calme then it blewe an esy gale at est southest being sattorday the 31st of May. the ⊙ beinge 50 deg. above the horyzon I found it to be 27 deg. to the estward of the southe. Agayne in the afternoone the sonn being 50 deg. high he was distant from the south to the westward. 51 deg. At noone he was 55 deg. 6 m.: hight of the pole 58 deg. 3 min.: varyatyon 24 deg. our waye this 24 howers not above 6 leagues west, being lyttle wind for the most prt. Sattorday, 31.

[1] All this page omitted by Purchas.

[2] Purchas has "dead cows".

From Sattorday at noone tyll 2 aclock itt was calme then it began to blowe an esy gale at northe. At night I observed the ⊙ setting and found it to sett 21 deg. to the westward of the northe, the wind continuing varyable betwixt the northe and the west no$_r$west tyll noone beinge the first of June. Then I found us by observatyon to be in the lattytud of 57 deg. 35 min. our waye judged from noone to noone west and be southe or thereabouts 13 leagues.

Sonday, the first of June, 1606.

Sonday, the firste of June, 1606.

Whyt Sonday.

From Sonday at noone being whittson sonday tyll 10 aclock the same evening it was calme. Then it began to blow a stife gale of wind at south southest our course west tyll noone. The next day being monday the 2nd day 23 leagues. This day we sawe many black byrds like willocks flyinge in fleets or companys together.[1]

Monday, the 2.

Tewsday, the 3.

The first Ice that they sawe.

From Monday at noone tyll 11 aclock the next day being the 3. of June our course west and be southe. Then we met the fyrst Ise,[2] the wind being at southe. Our way made good 30 leagues. At noone I met with a mayne land of Ise that forced me to cast aboute.[3]

More ise.

From tewsday at noone tyll 4 aclock I stemed way est south est. Then I cast about hopinge to doble the ise to the Southward but before 8 we fell with itt agayne. Then I stood est till 4 the next morninge then I stood in agayne with porpose to coste the ise to the southwards hoaping to dubel it that way by reason of the sotherly winds and also I judged it to be Ise dreven from the sotherland, which lyeth in 56½ so I trended the ise southe and be west about 8 leagues. Lattytud at noone 56 deg. 40 min. being wednsday the 4th of June.

Wednsday, the 4.

More Ice.

Thursday, the 5.

From wednsday at noone I costed the ise to the southward betwixt the S.S.W. and the south tyll. 4. aclock. the next morning. I had sayled in this course aforesayd by judg-

[1] Guillemots.

[2] Off Cape Farewell.

[3] Purchas omits much in this page, especially the mention of meeting the first ice.

ment. 16 leagues. Then the ise trended away est southest. then I cast aboute and at six aclock ther seemed an Inlet or openinge of the ise where into I bore which course for the most parte tyll. 8. Then it fell awaye more northerly our course as nere as we could norwest: latt at noon 56 deg. The ☉ 22½ high, the varyation 30 deg. by the instrument and 26 degs. by the scale.

From thursday noone our course amongst the ise for the most part no^r^west about 6 leagues tyll 5 in the afternoone then it fell starke calme tyll 7. Then it blowe an easy gale at west, so I torned to windward hopinge to get througge betwixt the land and the Ise. At noone I observed and found us to be in the latytud of 56 deg. 6 min. being friday the 6th of June. Ffryday, the 6.

From fryday at noone tyll 8 at nyght I plyed to the westwards, in att one gapp or strayt and owt at another, the wind being westerly, fayre weather. Then in the morninge the wind cam esterly, then I steered away betwixt the west and the northe as I kold for the ise which lay very thick. All the forenoone was very thick and foggie weather, tyll by observation I found us to be in the latytud of 56½, our way mad good this 24 howers as nere as I could Judge no^r^west, being satorday the 7th of June. Sattorday, the 7.

From sattorday at noone tyll sonday at noone, being the 8 of June, all this 24 howers we were so pestred with ise that we wer twise so inclosed about with ise that we were fayne to take in all our sayles and sett out agayne with our sparrs and boat hooks, and sometymes when we got a lyttle poole we rowed and somtymes we sayled, and in the end by Gods guydence and ower great labor gott into a place mor clere where we myght use sayles. Here as it seemed the ise drove to the westwards.[1] Ise greatly troubled them. Sonday, the 8.

From Sonday at noone tyll monday at noone I torned Ise.

[1] Nearly all this page, with the account of Knight's battling with the ice, is omitted by Purchas.

from one banke of ise to another to the esstwards, to the end to stand more northerly, hoaping by that means to gett a free sea to oost of America.

Monday, the 9.

From Monday at noone tyll 8 o'clock it was for the most part callme. Then itt began to blowe an easy gale sotherly and allso about 3 aclock we fell into many overfalls or currents which as neer as I cold juge did sett away sowthe west. About 10 aclock it blew a stife gale of wind at south-south west, our course for the most pte no^{r} no^{r} west. this nyght we wer trobbled with much drift ise, and about 5 in the morninge I stered away no^{r} west al a longst a mayne banke of ise tyll noone, being tewsday the 10th of June, our lattytud 57 deg. allso I made accompt we had some land to the estward of us, the wind beinge att southe southest clere weather.

Overfalles and Currants.

Tewsday, the 10.

Ise.

From tewsday at noone I costed the ise till 7 aclock no^{r} and be est 8 legs. Then it trended no^{r}west westerly 2 leagues being 8 aclock from 8 to 12. I costed itt 8 legs. with a stife gale of wind. then the ise trended away nor nor est, and I contynewed my course betwixt the no^{r}the and the norest and be est tyll noone, beinge the 11th June ower lattytud at noone 58, and at nyght the ☉ did sett 14 deg. to the westwards of the northe, and did rise 50 deg. to the estwards of the north.[1]

He trended away nor west.

Wednsday, the 11.

Sonne sett & ryse.

From wednsday at noone tyll 2 aclock our course northe alongst the ise then the ise seemed to trend away norest, and agayne at this place seemed somewhat thin or skatred. I made in with the ship having a fayre gale of wind and fayre weather, the wind being at southwest and be southe, our course for the most prt west and be southe bearinge up for one ise and loofing[2] for another tyll thursday at noone beinge the 12th, the ☉ beinge 30 deg. above the horison. He was to the southwards of the est 22 deg. allso agayne he beinge 42 deg. he was 48.40 to the southwards of the est, so by

Thursday, the 12.

The Ise trended nor est.

[1] All this page is omitted by Purchas. [2] Luffing.

workynge the varyatyon of the compas is found to be to the westward of the southe, havinge latytud 58 deg. The Sonne.

From thursday at noone our course amongst the ise west tyll 6 aclock, then it blewe a hard gale of winde. The ise being very thick about us we tooke in our sailes and mored to a mayne iland of ise, where we remayned tyll 4 the next morninge, being fryday the 13th of June. Then the ise seemed to be dispersed thiner by the wind or som other axident, then I sett saile with our 2 courses but was forced to take them in agayne and mored to another great iland aboute a myle to the westward of the other: here setteth some small corrent to the southward, for the great ise that wer somwhat deepe drove to the southwestward, and the other small ise, which wer flotye drove with the wind which was varyable betwixt the nor west and the northe. We were in syght of land which bore west. s. west from us, shewinge in 7 pts lyke ilands. Our latytud at noone 57 degs. 29 min.

They mored ye Ship to an Iland of Ise. Ffryday, the 13. They mored agayne. The first land.

From fryday at noone tyll 8 aclock at nyght we remayned mored to the aforesayd Ise then it fell calme, and I losed and rew[1] to the westward with our oares, hoaping to gett through tyll 12 aclock, then the ise wer thick. I mored agayne till 4 aclock the next morninge. Then we rowed and sayled and with an esy gale of wind tyll 8 aclock the next morninge, beinge sattorday the 14th of June. Then it began to blowe a fresh gale esterlye and we cuned the ship with our ores tyll noone. Our lattytud was 58 deg.

Mored agayne in Ise. Sattorday, the 14.

From satordaye at noone tyll mydnyght we gyded our shipp to the westward amongst the ise with our ores, hoapin to get through, butt we wer sodaynly compassed about with many great ilands of ise, and continewed sore[2] distressed with a sore storme of winde at southest, being fogie and thick wether, that we were so crushed betwixt myghtye great Ilands that we were in danger every minet to be

Sonday, the 15. The Ship greatly crushed betweene Ilands of Ise.

[1] Rowed. [2] Purchas has "so" instead of "sore".

crushed in peeces with force of the heaving and setting of the sayd ise with the great sea that the wynd made, had nott God of his mercy guyded for us, for ower[1] did lyttle avayle to o^{r} helpe, thoughe we shewed all our industreys to the uttermost of our powers.

From sonday at noone tyll monday the 16th at 6 in the morninge we remayned as before, and seeing orselves in so great danger knew not how longe the storme wold continew. Committing our selves into the hands of God we sett or flu sayle and forced the shipp with a sayle some ise we drove afore us, and we run betwixt and about tenn aclock we found the ise skattringe somethinge thinn, then I direckted my course so nere as I could west no^{r} west. Thus God of his mercy guyded for us when we looked for nothinge butt a myserable end, to whom be all prayse and glory for ever more.[2]

Monday, the 16.

Myssery in ye Ise.

From monday at noone tyll tewsday at noone, the wind was variable betwixt the no^{r}the and the est. I mad my waye good soe nere as I cold to the west no west, for the Ise was somtymes thicker than ever. At about 8 o'clock at nyght, beinge very lyttle winde, we fell fowle of an Iland of ise which I found very dorty and fowle and going upon itt to fend off o^{r} shipp we found the footings of men and chilldren and the footings of cattle as cows or dere and the prints of dogs footings. This day was very thick foggie weather.

Tewsday, the 17.

Theyr Ship beinge on an Iland of Ise, they found the Steps and footprints of men and cattell and dogs.

From tewsday at noone our course as before amongst the ise tyll 4 in the afternoone, then the ise was so thick encompassed aboute us that we cold nether rowe nor mak any waye with or sayles and there continewed tyll noone, beinge wednsday the 18th of June: beinge fogie wether here the sea was so smothe, althoughe it blewe a very hard gale of

Wednsday, the 18.

110. fedam greene oz and whyt Shell.

[1] A word omitted. Purchas inserts "endeavours", and otherwise alters Captain Knight's wording.

[2] All this omitted by Purchas, as well as the following sentence.

wind, that I cold persayve no mosion of the sea. Then sounded and had ground at 110 fadom green ozi sand and a kind of whit shell amongst.

From wednsday at noone tyll 4 aclock we contynewed as before aboute whych tyme we mad the land of America wh ryseth like ilands. The northernmost parte of it bore no^r and be west abowte 15 legs. from us. I observed the lattytud and found my sellfe to be in the lattytud of 56 deg. 48 min. var 25 deg. west.[1] The land shewinge as here followeth — Land of America in 56. degres. Thursday, 19.

* * * *

This present tyme cam an esy gale of wind sotherly then I sett sayle and thrust throughe the Ise.

From thursday at noone tyll fryday at noone we sayled and rowed what we cold into the shore, the ise being some tymes very thick and some tymes more skattringe. — Ffryday, the 20.

From fryday at noone tyll 6 aclock we had the ise resonable clere that we cold mayntayne a resonable saile so that at 6 aclock I gott closae into the shore but I could nott enter any harbor by reson of a wonderfull masse of ise choked them upp : here I sounded and had 55 fadom beinge fowle ground. Then I costed the shore and Ise close abord to the norwards and sometymes lay to with our mayn course tyll the next day at noone beinge sattorday the 21st June, and abte. 8 aclock at nyght I came to an anckor in 18 fad. *(Line erased.)* — They were neere the Shore, but could not enter. Sattorday, 21. 55 fadam. 18 fadam.

This day we runn aground upon a rock which lay under water, butt by Gods helpe we gott off agayne w^th^outt any greater hurte. Allso this nyght we gott our shallope upon an islande with purpose to sett her together. This day towards night we had a sore winde at 55. est. but before midnyght it was calme, allso all this coste showeth like broken — Sattorday, 21. They ran on a Rock under water; they sett their Shallop together upon an Iland.

[1] Near Nain, on the coast of Labrador. Probably about Port Manvers and Newark Island. Barrow places the site of Knight's disaster near Cape Grimington. On the 9th of the following July, Captain Knight's old comrade, James Hall, sighted this coast in latitude 58° 30′ N., when on his second Greenland voyage.

Broken Ilands. The Tyde of flud from the norward.

land or ilands and the tyde of flood cometh from the nor-wards.

Sonday, the 22 of June, 1606.

Sonday the 22th we road still with fayre wether, and the wind northerly.

Monday, the 23. They force ye Ship into a Cove.

Monday the 23rd in the morninge aboute one aclock the wind began to blowe a freshe gale and then drove a myghty Iland of ise thwarte our halse, which we could no ways shunn butt was forsed to let slip in the halse and with fasts and cables to warpe into a cove to save our shipp and lyves where we rid very dageresly all this daye and nyght followinge.[1]

Tewsday, the 24. They are forced to save their clothes, furnyture, and victuels: Ship halfe full of water. Tewsday, the 24.

Tewsday the 24th all the morninge there blewe a storme northerly, and came in such a sufe. of a sea and so muche ise that our fasts broake that wer fast a shore and our rother was dreven from our stern with the force of myghty Ilands of Ise, soe that we were forced to hall cloase into the bottom of the cove to save our clothes fornyture and vicktualls. We did or best, butt before we had donn our shipp was halfe full of water: beinge nyghte and weary we tooke a lyttle rest.

The Ship aground: Stop the Leaks. Wednsday, the 25. They build up the Shallop.

Wednesday the 25th we went to worke when the ship was aground to gett the water out of the shipp and stopp so many of our leaks as we cold com by, and to savinge of our bread so much as we cold, and som to bilding our shallop. Also I caused our boate to be lanched over the iland and sent my mat Edward Gorrell with 3 others to seke for a better place wher to bringe our ship a ground, if itt wer possible, to mend her agayne, but they retorned without any certanty by reason of the abowndance of ise which choaked every place. They found wood growinge on the shor.[2]

Wood growing on the shore

Thursday the 26, beinge faire wether.

[1] All omitted by Purchas from Friday, the 20th.

[2] The two last paragraphs are given in Purchas.

[POSTSCRIPT.[1]]

"Here Mr. Knight ended writinge in His Jornall, and this 26 day of June 1606 the said Knight, his mate,[2] his brother, and 3 others, went into their shallop, and rowed to an Iland about 6 myle from their ship. Comeng to the iland the said Knight, his mate, his brother and . . . . . . went a shore, takinge with hym a compas and other instruments, to take a plat of the land: also they toke with them swords daggs muskets and halfe pykes to defend them from the enemyes yf they should meete with any. They went a shore about 10 of the clocke in the mornenge, commandinge the other 2 whom they left in the shallop wherof the trumpeter was one, to tarry there for them until 3 aclock in the afternoon: whiche attendance they performed, and stayed untill 11 aclock at nyght as they say, for neither that night nor at any tyme after, notwithstanding they sent a shore agayne and used their best means untill they were assalted by the salvages, could they either see, hear, or understand what was become of ye said Mr. Knight or the others that went a shore wth hym."[3]

[1] In a different hand, being the same as that of the marginal notes.

[2] Edward Gorrell.

[3] Purchas has a much longer postscript than the one attached to Knight's MS. Journal (iii, p. 839). This statement in Purchas was made by Oliver Brownel, one of the two boat-keepers who were left in the shallop, when the captain and the others landed. On Saturday, the 28th, while the crew were pumping out and repairing the ship, a crowd of natives came over a hill and seized the boat. They were but eight men and a great dog; but when the natives saw them marching resolutely against them, the dog being foremost, they ran away. They numbered about fifty men. They were very little people; tawny-coloured, thin or no beards, and flat-nosed. On the 29th, the crew continued the repairs, and on the 30th they got the ship afloat, but she was very leaky and without a rudder. On the 1st and 2nd of July they

rowed up and down among the ice. They managed to construct a temporary rudder, with pintels made out of the iron bands round the captain's chest; and got out of the bay. Next day they cleared the hold, and found many leaks, and one large one abaft the forefoot, which they could not stop from inboard. So they took their main bonnet, basted it with oakum (thrummed it), and passed it over the leak outside. They were worn out with watching and hard work. They steered for Newfoundland, and repaired the ship in the bay of Fogo; receiving kind aid from vessels that were fishing there. Sailing on the 22nd of August, they arrived at Dartmouth on the 24th of September, 1606. "The rest of the journall, from the death of Master John Knight, was written by Oliver Browne, one of the Company." There is a mark like the beginning of an *l* following the *e* in Browne, in all the copies of Purchas.

A LIST

OF

SHIPS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY[1]

(EMPLOYED DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY).

	REFERENCE.
Advice (1615)	C. I.
Anna (1699-1701) . . , .	277
Anne Royal (1617), 900 tons. Andrew Shilling, master. Wm. Baffin, master's mate .	268 (*n.*)
,, (1620), wrecked near Gravesend . .	C. II.
Antelope (1699). Captain H. Hammond . .	276
Ascension (1600), 260 tons. Captain William Brand. Lancaster's first E.I.C. voyage .	57, 58, 126
,, (1604). Captain Roger Stiles. Middleton's second E.I.C. voyage . . .	P.
,, (1608). Captain Sharpeigh. Fourth E.I.C. voyage. Shipwrecked .	120, 125, 128
Attendant (1614)	P.
Bear (1618). The *Merchant Royal's* name altered to the *Bear*, 1619, sailed . . .	C. II.
,, ,, To be called the *White Bear*. 1620, burnt by the Dutch . . .	C. II.
Bear's Whelp, with *Bear* and *Benjamin*. 1596, sent to China under Captain Wood, but never returned	C. I.

[1] The numbers refer to pages in the present volume, where manuscript journals in the India Office are mentioned. C. I and II indicate that the ship is mentioned in the first or second volume of the *Calendar of State Papers* (East India), and P that it is mentioned in Purchas. Many of those in the present volume are also given in Purchas and in the *Calendars*.

Bee (1617). A pinnace, 150 tons . . 268
Belfast (1699). Captain John Hudson . . 276
Benjamin 275
Blessing (1616) 271
,, (1629). Journal of Andrew Warden . 272
Bull (1616), 400 tons. Captain Robert Adams 268, 270
Carolina (1682). Captain John Harding . . 274
Chambers (1695). Captain T. South . . 275
Chandos. Journal of John Bonnell . . 275
Charles (1618). Journal of Henry Crosby . 268
,, (1629). Journal of Nicholas Prin . . 272
Charles II (1695). Captain John Dorrill . . 275
Christopher (1616) 271
Claw (1620) . . . . C. II.
Clove (1611). Captain Saris. Eighth E.I.C. 200, 264 (*n*.)
,, (1616). Journal of John Borden . . 267
Coaster (1633). John Muckrell's Journal . 273
Concord (1614) . . . . P.
,, (1659). Captain Roger Kilvert. Ralph Hodgkine's Journal . . . 273
Consent (1607), 115 tons. In the third E.I.C. voyage 108
,, ,, Captain David Middleton . . P.
,, (1609). To be sold . . . C. I.
Darling (1610), 90 tons. In the sixth E.I.C. voyage 145, 149, 169, 174, 177, 180, 182, 200, 208, 215, 221
Defence (1614). Journal of John Monden . 266
,, (1616) . . . . P.
,, (1686). Captain W. Heath . . 274
Diamond (1618). Built at Deptford . . 268
Discovery (1616). Journal of John Vian . 271, 272
Dolphin (1621). Journal of Richard Swanley . 270
Dragon (1600), 600 tons. Lancaster's ship. First E.I.C. voyage . . 57, 58, 99
Dragon (Red) (1604). Sir H. Middleton's ship. Second E.I.C. voyage . . . P.

Dragon (Red). Captain Keeling's ship. Third E.I.C. voyage . . . 108, 111, 113
,, ,, On the tenth E.I.C. voyage. 234, 236, 243, 249, 265
Eagle (1620) . . . 269, 271
,, (1644). Captain Thomas Stevens. Journal of Antonio Fenn . . . 273
Edward Bonaventure. Lancaster's ship on the first voyage . . . 4, 13, 26
Elizabeth (1618), 978 tons . . 268, 270
Exchange (1620). Journal of Richard Swanley . 269
Expedition (1609). Captain David Middleton P., C. I.
,, (1618). Journal of John Rowe. Voyage from Surat to Jask . . . 268
,, (1612). Captain C. Newport. Journal of Walter Payton . . . P.
Falcon (1644) 273
Fleet Frigate (1698). Captain John Merry . 276
Flying Eagle (1678). Voyage from Bantam to China 274
Fortune (1621). Robert Burgess, master . . 270
Gift (see *New Year's Gift*).
Globe (1610). Captain Hippon. Seventh E.I.C. voyage 253
God Speed (1620). Junk, of 50 tons . . C. II.
Great Thames (1624). Journal of Richard Monck . 271
Guest (1600). A victualler in Lancaster's fleet. Abandoned at sea . . . 58, 61
Hampshire (1699) 276
Hart (1620). Captain Rd. Blith. In Shilling's fleet. 268, 269
,, (1622). Journal of John Bickley . . 270
Hector (1600), 300 tons. Captain J. Middleton. First E.I.C. voyage . . 56, 58, 99, 103
,, (1604). Second E.I.C. voyage. Captain Colthurst . . . . P.
,, (1606). Third E.I.C. voyage. Captain Hawkins . . . 103, 109, 111

Hector (1611). Eighth E.I.C. voyage. Captain Towerson. In Captain Saris's fleet. 200, 216, 217, 221, 222, 266

,, (1613). Second Joint-Stock voyage. Captain Downton . . . P.

,, (1614). Sunk at Bantam, careening . P.

Hinde (1644). William Broadbent. Voyage from Surat to Macao . . . 273

Hope (1618). Captain H. Carnaby. Journal of E. Dodsworth . . . 265, 266, 268

Hopewell (1627). Journal of Peter Andrewes . 272

,, (1644). Journal of Wm. Broadbent . 273

,, Arctic ship (1606) of Captain Knight 281 (*n.*)

Hoseander (1612). Tenth E.I.C. voyage. Journal of Ralph Crosse. 220, 235, 236, 237, 243, 247, 249, 251, 260, 261, 265

Hound (1618). Wm. Gordon, master. 1619, taken by the Dutch . . . C. II.

James (1611). Ninth E.I.C. voyage. Captain E. Marlowe 216

James Royal (1616). Rowland Coytmore, master . P.

,, (1624). Journal of Robert Fox . 267, 271

John and Rachel (1688). Captain R. Cox. Journal of Nathaniel Ball. Relieving homeward bounders 275

Jonas (1621). Journal of Richard Swanley 270, 271

Josiah (1698-1700). Captain Stratton . . 276

Julia (1699). Charles Coatsworth. Voyage to Borneo 277

Kempthorne[1] (1690).

King William 276

[1] Not from any of the sourees hitherto quoted. But in an old pocket-book in the British Museum, belonging to Ursula Lady Altham, daughter of Sir Robert Markham of Sedgebrook (1691), there is an entry to the effeet that her brother Robert died on board the ship *Kempthorne*, in the Bay of Bengal, aged 22, on August 25th, 1690.

Lannarett (1614). Consort of the *Falcon* . . 273
Lesser James (1621). John Wood, master . 270
Lion (1614). The ship in which Sir J. Roe went out to India . . . . P.
,, (1621) 270
London (1620). Captain Shilling. Journal of Archibald Jemmison . . . 268
,, (1639). Journal of James Birkedall . 273
,, (1689-1701). Captain George Matthews . 276
Macclesfield (1699). Captain John Kerle. Journal of Robert Douglas . . . 276
Madras (1682). Captain Benjamin Prickman. Journal of Zachary Toucy . . . 275
Mary (1627). Journal of Peter Andrewes . 272
,, ,, William Bayley . . . 273
Massingberd (1683). Captain Joseph Haddock . 273
Merchant Royal. In Lancaster's first voyage (see *Bear*).
Merchants' Hope (1613). Captain Nicholas Emsworth. P., C. I.
Moon (1618). Journal of Richard Bragge . 268
,, (1621) 270
Nassau (1693). Captain John Lloyd . . 275
Neptune (1699). Journal of John Lesly . . 276
New Year's Gift (1614), 800 tons. Captain Downton. Returned 1616 . . P., C. I.
,, (1617). In Captain Pringle's fleet . . 268
Osiander (see *Hoseander*).
Palsgrave (1618), 1083 tons. Captain Charles Clevenger 268
,, (1621). Sailed from Firando, to cruise off Manilla 270
,, (1632). Richard Forder's Journal . 273
Penelope. Captain Raymond. Lancaster's first voyage 4, 26
Peppercorn (1610). Captain Downton. In the sixth E.I.C. voyage. 145, 147, 152, 153, 166, 168 to 171, 172, 185, 201, 202, 203, 209, 216, 221, 222, 226, 227, 263

Peppercorn (1614). Captain Walter Peyton . P.
,, (1621). At Firando . . . C. II.
President (1679). Captain Jonathan Hide . 274
Reformation (1629) 272
Relief. Name given to Sir H. Middleton's pinnace in the sixth voyage . . . 182
Richard (1621), 20 tons. A small vessel employed to explore about the Cape . . 270
Roebuck (1620). Captain Richard Swan. In Captain Shilling's fleet . . 268, 269
Rose (1626). Took out Sir Robert Sherley, Sir Dodmore Cotton, etc., to Persia.
Rose. A small vessel employed as the *Richard.*
Royal James (1624). Captain John Weddell. Journal of Robert Fox . . . 271
Ruby (1618) 268
Russell (1695). Frigate . . . 275
Samaritan (1614). Consort of the *Thomas* . P.
Samuel. A victualler for the sixth E.I.C. voyage.
Sampson (1619). Captain Jourdain. Taken by the Dutch . . . . C. II.
Scout (1624). A small pinnace . . . 271
Sea Adventure (1617). Captain Adams's junk. Journal of Edward Sayer . . . 267
Solomon. Ship in the Pernambuco voyage 35, 37, 38
,, In the tenth E.I.C. voyage . . 228
Spie (1624). A small pinnace . . . 271
Speedwell (1614) . . . . P.
Starre (1622) . . . . C. II.
,, (1624) 271
Sun (1617). Wrecked in 1619 . . . C. II.
Supply . . . . . C. II.
Susan (1600), 240 tons. In Lancaster's first E.I.C. voyage . . . 58, 84, 98
Swan (1616). Captain Nathaniel Courthorp . P.

Thomas (1611). A ship in Captain Saris's fleet. 200, 205, 209, 216, 221
,, (1614). Journal of John Milward . . P.
,, (1698) 276
Thomasine (1614). Consort of the *Thomas* . P.
Tiger (1604). Sir Edward Michelborne & John Davis P.
Tiger's Whelp. Consort of the *Tiger.*
Trade's Increase (1610), 1000 tons. Sir H. Middleton. Sixth E.I.C. voyage. 145,147,150,172,209,211,216
,, Burnt by the Javans, after being abandoned . P.
Triplecaine (1675). Journal of John Stead . 274
Trumball (1699 to 1702) . . . 277
Unicorn (1617). Wrecked in 1620 . . C. II.
Union (1608). Fourth E.I.C. voyage. Captain Rd. Rowles . . 120, 126, 160, 161
Unity (1619) . . . . C. II.
Whale (1621) 270
White Bear (see *Bear*).
William (1616) 271
William and Ralph. Name changed to *Starre.*

INDEX.

Abd-al-Kuri, island, 116
Abexin, coast (*see* Abyssinian)
Abyssinian coast, ships of the sixth voyage anchored off, 176, 182, 184
Achin, vi; arrival of Lancaster at, 74; reception by the king, 75; Queen Elizabeth's letter to the king of, 78; negotiation, 79 to 83; the King's letter and presents to Queen Elizabeth, 94 to 97; ships of the tenth voyage at, 248; entertainments at 250, 254; war with Johore, 251, 253; the king in state, 256; punishments at, 257; money and weights, 258; account of, 259
Adams, Captain, voyage to Cochin China, 267
Adams, Mr., the preacher, at Mr. Traine's death-bed at Bantam, 218
Addy, Mr. (*see* Audely)
Aden, Captain Keelinge sails for, 118, 121; Captain Sharpeigh at, 122; the "Peppercorn" at, 146, 148; ships of sixth voyage at, 166; description, 166; blockade of, 200, 201
Agoa, Baia de, 17
Agoada de San Bras, 2
Agoada de Saldanha (*see* Saldanha)
Ahmedabad (Amedewar?), 240, 241, 265
Aldersley, Mr., arrives at the Down to bring the "Peppercorn" up the Thames, 226
Aldsworth, Mr., chief factor at Surat, 233, 245
Aloe, at Socotra, 117, 163, 166
Amboyna, 219
Amedevar (*see* Ahmedabad)
Amity, E.I.C. ship, 276
Andrewes, Peter, journal of in E.I.C. ship "Mary" 272
Anna, E.I.C. ship, 277
Ann Royal, E.I.C. ship, 268; William Baffin a master's mate in, 268 (*n*), 270; Walter Bennett, captain of, 270
Anne, Cape, in Greenland, xvii
Antelope, E.I.C. ship, 276
Antongil, Bay of (Madagascar), 66, 67, 68, 160
Antonio, Don, pretender to the Portuguese throne, 7
Arctic navigators (*see* Davis, Baffin, Hall, Cunningham, Knight, Lindenow, Waymouth)
——— expeditions despatched by the East India Company, xvii; importance of, xxi
Areta, capital of the King of Rohela, 179
Arnold, surgeon in Lancaster's first voyage, death, 8
Articles for the tenth E. I. voyage, 228 to 233
Asab Bay (or Margabra), 178, 182, 184, 203
Ascension Isle, 106
Ascension, E.I.C. ship, in the first voyage, iv, v, 57, 126; Captain Brand, 58; on the fourth voyage, x, 120; anchored off Mocha, 123; lost her anchors at Socotra, 125
Audely, Mr. (Addy), of Poplar, in the Pernambuco voyage, 36, 43, 53
Austin, Howard, his journal in the "Hart", 272

Bab el Mandeb, 200
Baffin, William, xvi; in the "Ann Royal", 268 (*n*); his death, 269 (*n*); his calculations for longitude, xix
Bagley, William, his journal in the "Mary", 273
Bahama channel, 20
Baingham, Nicholas, a joiner belonging to the "Hector", at Surat, 186; joins Sir H. Middleton with provisions, 192
Baker, John, death at Sana, 176
Ball, Nathaniel, journal of a cruise for homeward-bounders, 275
Ball's River in Greenland, xx
Banda, 109, 141
Bangkok, 266
Banians, 185, 189, 240 (*see* Shermall)
Banning, Alderman, set forth the Pernambuco voyage, 35
Bantam, vi; Lancaster at, 99; trade,

100 ; factor left at, 101 ; "Dragon" at, 109 ; ships at, 216, 217 ; warehouse built at, 218 ; death of Sir H. Middleton at, 260 ; death of Captain Downton, 227 (*n*)
Barbatiere, M. de, captain of a French ship of Caen, succoured Lancaster, 20, 29, 32, 34
Barker, Lieutenant Edmund, i, ii ; lands on the Malacca coast, 11 ; sent to keep a Portuguese prize, 13 ; lands at St. Helena, 17 ; lands on Mona Isle, 21 ; came home in a Dieppe ship, 23, 31 ; vice-admiral in the Pernambuco voyage, 37, 43 ; death, 54
Barker, Richard, boatswain of the "Hoseander", killed in action, 237
Basse, William, journal of in the "London", 274
Batavia, 274
Bee, E.I.C. ship, 268
Belfast, E.I.C. ship, 276
Beloule, on the Abyssinian coast, 182, 184
Bengala, 9, 85
Bengall Merchant, E.I.C. ship, 274
Benjamin, E.I.C. ship, 275
Bennett, Walter, captain of the "Ann", 270
Bermuda, 20, 33 ; shipwreck, 32, 33
Best, Captain Thomas, commander of the tenth E.I.C. voyage, xiv, 228 ; his "Articles" for the voyage, 228 to 233 ; his speech on board the "Hoseander", 234 ; action with the Portuguese fleet, 236, 237 ; consults his crews, 239 ; aid to the Mogul army in Katiwar, 241 ; receives a firman at Surat for E.I.C. trade, 246 ; speech about division of plunder, 247 ; interview with the King of Achin, 249 ; conversation with the Siamese ambassador at Achin, 249
Beynen, Lieutenant Koolenans, of the Dutch navy, his account of Oliver Brunel, xxi
Bickley, John, his journal in the "Hart", 270
Birkedell, James, his journal in the "London", 273
Biskainer, a prize, 38
Biskell, John, captain of the "Discovery", 272
Blackwall, ii, xii, 56
Blanco, Cape, 1, 36, 37, 38, 40
Blessing, E.I.C. ship, 271, 272
Blith, Captain Richard, of the "Hart", 269
Boca del Dragon, 29
Bonnell, John, journal of, 275
Bonnell, Captain Stephen, of Lime, brings aid to Captain Downton at Waterford, 275
Boothby, Henry, hostage at Surat, 195
Borden, John, journal on board the "Clove", 267
Borneo, 219
Bowers, Captain John, journal of, 274
Bradshaw, Mr. Samuel, merchant in the union, 146, 161 ; journal, xi
Braddyk, Captain, of E.I.C. ship, "King William", 277
Bragge, Richard, journal in the "Moon", 268
Brand, Captain W., of the "Ascension", iv, 51 ; slain, 69
Brazil coast, 2
Braua Isle, 37
Bringa, a village 30 leagues north of Cape Comorin (?), 247
Broadbent, William, journal in the "Holdwell", 273
Brownell, Oliver (*see* Brunel)
Brunel, Oliver, xix ; history of, xx ; finished Captain Knight's journal, 293 (*n*)
Bull, E.I.C. ship, 268, 270 ; ship belonging to the King of Bantam, 275
Burgess, Robert, master of the "Fortune", 270
Burnil Cape, in Greenland, xix
Burre, Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Middleton, v
Burre, Walter, printer of Sir Henry Middleton's voyage, v
Burrell, Captain John, visits Captain Downton at Waterford, 225
Buona Esperanza, Cape, 2, 4, 16, 17, 25, 28, 65, 105, 264, 265, 270

Caen, a ship for, in the West Indies, 20, 29, 32, 34
Caicos passage, 23
Calicut, 26, 27, 181 ; cargo of a ship of, 201
Cambay, 187, 196, 241 ; "Ascension" wrecked in Gulf of, xi, 128
Camerat or Cameran, 173, 184
Canarie, Islands, 1, 25, 36, 59
Cannicam, on coast of Arabia, 165
Canning, Mr. Paul, factor at Surat, 233 ; account of 233 (*n*) ; his news of the Portuguese fleet, 234 ; reads prayers on board the "Hoseander", 235 ; at the Mogul camp in Katiwar, 240 ; courageous speech to the Mogul general, 244 ; his gallantry in action with the Portuguese, 244 ;

to convey presents to Agoa, 246; news from at Agra, 252
Cape Blanco, 1, 36, 37, 40
—— Comorin, 9, 10, 184, 199, 208, 247
—— Dorfu, 116
—— Guardefui, 166
—— Saint Augustine, 40, 61, 111
—— San Nicolas, 31
—— Sebastian, 65
—— Verde, 1, 37, 145, 147, 152
—— Tiberon, 20, 30
Cape of Good Hope (*see* Buona Esperanza), Captain Downton's account of the country at, 158
Cardu Island, 70 (one of the Maldives)
Carolina, E.I.C. ship, 274
Carribas Isles, 163
Carwarden, an Englishman drowned in Cochin China, 267
Cavendish, Captain, report on Sierra Leone, 113
Chagos Isles, 70
Chambers, E.I.C. ship, 275
Chambers, John, quartermaster of the "Trade's Increase", sent on shore with a flag of truce, 175
Charles, E.I.C. ship, 268, 278
Charles II., E.I.C. ship, 275
Chidley (or Chudleigh), John, his voyage, 19 (*n*)
Childe, Alexander, journal on board the "James", 265
China, vi, 9
Christian II. of Denmark, xx
Christian Cape, in Greenland, xviii
Christian's Fjord, xix
Christopher, E.I.C. ship, 271
Choul, 123, 186, 198, 199
Chudleigh (*see* Chidley)
Cirne Isle, 65
Cloudie Isles, 21
Clove, E.I.C. ship of Captain Saris, xiii, 200; journal on board, 267
Coaster, E.I.C. ship, 273
Coatsworth, Captain, journal in the "Julia", 277
Cochin, 16, 123; ship of, taken by Sir Henry Middleton, 198
Cochin China, 266, 267
Cockin Sound, in Greenland, xix
Cocks, Mr., merchant in Saris' fleet, 207
Coia, Nazan of Surat, 191, 192, 194, 195
Collenson, George, carpenter sixth voyage, opinion of the seaworthiness of the "Trade's Increase", 220
Colthurst, Captain of the "Hector", second voyage, v
Comorin, Cape, 9, 10, 184, 199, 208, 247
Comoro Island, Lancaster waited for Captain Raymond at, 4, 6, 26; William Mace slain at, 6, 21; Sharpeigh at, 121, 126
Company (*see* East India)
Complain, Mr., chaplain in the tenth voyage, 245
Concord, E.I.C. ship, 273
Consent, ship in the Pernambuco voyage, 35; in the third voyage with David Middleton, xi, 108
Copenhagen, xviii, xix
Cork, 225
Corney, Mr. Bolton, editor of Sir Henry Middleton's voyage, v; his remark on the method of abridging adopted by Purchas, vii
Cotton, Captain, death at Pernambuco, 54
Cox, Captain Robert, cruising to relieve homeward-bounders (1688), 275
Crosby, Henry, his journal on board the "Charles", 268
Crosse, Ralph, purser in the "Hoseander" on the tenth voyage, journal, xiv, 228, 265; met by Mr. Dodsworth at the Cape, exploring, 265
Cumberland, Earl of, adventurer of the East India Company, iii; sold his ship, "Malice Scourge", to the Company, iv
Cunningham, Captain, commander of Danish expeditions to Greenland, xviii, xix
Cunningham, Mount, in Greenland, xviii

Dabul, ship of, at Mocha, 177; E.I.C. fleet at, 197, 199, 200
Daman, fleet of the tenth voyage at, 238
Dame, Robert, master of the "Richard" (20 tons, employed exploring at the Cape), 270
Darling, E.I.C. ship in the sixth voyage, xii, 145, 149; leaves Aden for Mocha, 169; attempt to surprise her, 174; sent to Mocha for news, 177; sent to Beilol, 182; escape of Sir Henry Middleton to, 180; sent to Socotra, 200; sent to Tiku, 206, 208; deaths on board, 208, 215; Mr. Pemberton to command, 219; careened, 221
Davies, David, journal of, in the "Discovery", 271
Davis, Bartholomew, carpenter of the "Trades Increase", sent to buy timber at Surat, 194
Davis, John, the Arctic navigator, ii;

bills of adventure for, iii ; chief pilot of the first E.I.C. voyage, 84 ; sailing directions by, 260 ; with Sir E. Michelborne, death, vi
Davy, John, master of the "James" in the ninth voyage, his journal, xiv
Defence, E.I.C. ship, 267, 274
Delishi, in Socotra, 117 ; the only safe port in the island, 119, 185
Denmark, expeditions sent to Greenland by, xviii
Diamond, E.I.C. ship, 268
Diego Rodriguez Isle, 65
Dieppe, ship of, 22
Discovery, journal of J. Vian in, 271, 272
Diu, 121, 123, 128, 150, 185 ; ship of, seized at Mocha by Sir Henry Middleton, 181 ; sailing directions to from Socotra, 265
Dodsworth, Edward, his journal, xv, 265; goes to Ahmedabad to buy indigo, 265 ; meets Crosse at the Cape, 265
Dolphin, E.I.C. ship, 270
Dorfu, Cape, 116
Dorril, John, captain of the "Charles II.", 275
Downton, Captain Nicholas, second in command of the sixth E.I.C. voyage, xii, xv, 143, 152, 153; his journal, xii, 263 ; his account of the country at the Cape, 158, 159 ; disputes with his officers about provisions, 164 ; his proceedings at Aden, 170, 171 ; goes to Mocha, 172 ; letter to Sir Henry Middleton, 175 ; misunderstanding with Sir Henry Middleton, 178, 179 ; attempts to cross the bar at Surat, 187 ; blockades Aden, 200 ; sent to buy pepper in Sumatra, 209 ; condition of his ship, 212 to 214 ; sails for England, 221 ; at Waterford, 223; in prison at Duncannon, 226 ; end of his voyage, 226 ; subsequent career and death, 227 (*n*)
Douglas, Mr., supercargo of the "Macclesfield", his journal (1699), 276
Dragon, on the first E.I.C. voyage, iv, v, 57 ; Lancaster's ship, 58, 99 ; Captain Keelinge's ship in the third voyage, viii, ix, 108, 109, 111, 113 ; loses her anchors, 112 ; in the tenth voyage, 234 ; action with the Portuguese fleet, 236 ; speech of Captain Best on board, 239 ; second action with Portuguese, 343 ; insubordinate conduct on board, 249 ; extracts from journal kept on board, 265 ; Shakespeare's plays acted on board, ix
Drake, Sir Francis, report on Sierra Leone, 113 ; stone set up by at Sierra Leone, 114
Drugs, samples of at Socotra, 116
Duffield, Captain Henry, of E.I.C. ship "Trumbull", 277
Duncannon, conduct of the captain of fort at, to Captain Downton, 224, 226

Eagle, E.I.C. ship, 269, 271, 273
East India Company, formed, ii, 57 ; first fleet sails, iii, 58 ; grant of charter, iii ; Sir Thomas Smith the first governor, iii ; the journals and other documents of entrusted to Hakluyt, vi ; despatch of Arctic expeditions by, xvii, xx ; grant of firman to, 244, 245
Edward Bonaventure, Lancaster's ship in his first voyage, 4, 13, 26
Elizabeth, Queen, approval of the first East India voyage, ii ; grant of a charter to the Company, iii ; her letter to the King of Achin, 78 ; King of Achin's letter to, 95
Elizabeth, E.I.C. ship, 268 ; log of, 270
Elkington, Captain, his journal, xv
Elsmore, Richard, death of, at Sana, 176
Erle, Captain William, of the "Sampson", 275
Eskimo, xix
Esmond, Sir Lawrence, releases Captain Downton from the fort of Duncannon, 226
Evans, George, seized by an alligator, 112
Exchange, E.I.C. ship, 269
Expedition, E.I.C. ship, xiii, 268

Factors (*see* Femell, Canning, Starkey, Finch), 101, 160 ; disputes of with Captain Downton, 163 ; detained at Aden, 170 ; deaths of on board the "Darling", 208 ; at Surat, 233 ; at Bantam, 101
Falcon, E.I.C. ship, 273
Falmouth, 34
Farewell, Cape, 256 (*n.*)
Fartak, King of, in Arabia, 165
Fayal, 223
Felix, M., captain of a Dieppe ship, 22
Femell, Lawrence, factor in the sixth voyage with Sir H. Middleton, instructions to, xii, 131 to 136, 263 ; he lands at Socotra, 164 ; at Mocha,

173, 174; refuses to try to escape, his unwieldy fatness, 181; his death, 150, 182
Fenn, Nathaniel, condemned at Achin for mutiny, 252
Fenn, Antonio, his journal in the "Eagle", 273
Fernambuck (*see* Pernambuco)
Fernando Noronha Isle, 113
Finch, William, journal of third voyage, viii; residing at Surat, 128; letter from at Lahore, 186
Firando, xiii, 266, 267, 270
Firman of trade for the East India Company not arrived at Surat, 244; arrival and reception of, 245
Fitzherbert, Captain, of the "Exchange", 269
Fleet Frigate, E.I.C. ship, 267
Floris, Peter Williamson, a Dutchman, journal of, xiii, 263; founded a factory at Masulipatam, 195
Flying Eagle, E.I.C. ship, 274
Fogo Isle, 107
Forder, Richard, journal kept on board the "Palsgrave", 273
Fortune, E.I.C. ship, Robert Burgess, master, 270
Fowler, Mr. J., sent to Sana, 147, 176; at Aden, 169; joins the "Trade's Increase", 200; his death, 208
Fox, Robert, his journal in the "Royal James", 271
Fraine, Hugh (or Traine? whom *see*)
French ships in the West Indies, aid to Lancaster and his shipwrecked crew, 22 to 24, 30 to 34; at Pernambuco, 45
Frost, Danish Arctic ship, xviii

Gardafui, Cape, 166
Geffe, George, sent to the King of Rohela (Raheta?) with presents, 179; in command of the pinnace "Relief", sixth voyage, 162
Gifford, captain of the ship "Sidney", journal, 275
Glanfield, F., merchant on board the "Darling", his death, 208
Glascock, Mr. Phillip, sent by Captain Sharpeigh to Sana, 122, 127; sent to Mocha, 123
Glenham, Thomas, death of, 217
Globe, E.I.C. ship, xii, 253
Goa, 9, 13, 27, 233, 247
Gogo, 191
Golding, Rainold, his death, 11
Gomberoon, recommended as a place for English trade, 268
Gomes Pulo Isle, 10
Goodfellow, W., journal in the "King William", 277
Gordon, Mr., of the "Ascension", 150
Grant, John, journal in the "Mary Royall", 272
Great Thomas, E.I.C. ship, 271
Green, Benjamin, factor in the "Darling", 200
Greenland, Danish expedition to, xviii
Guest, a victualler for the first E.I.C. voyage, iv, 58; discharged, 61
Gujerat ships, 117, 118, 121, 127, 165, 251
Gungomar Bay, in Madagascar, 161

Haddock, Captain Joseph, his journal, 274
Hakluyt, Richard, assisting in fitting out the first E.I.C. voyage, iii; charge of E.I.C. documents entrusted to, vi; death, vii
Hall, Captain, in Danish expeditions to Greenland, xviii, xix; killed by Eskimos, xix
Hall, Master John, death of, 4
Hall, Daniel, journal in the "Hopewell", 272
Halladaye, Wm., the second governor of the E.I. Company, 271
Hamlet, play of, acted on board Captain Keelinge's ship at Sierra Leone, ix
Hammond, Henry, captain of the "Antelope", 276
Hampshire, E.I.C. ship, 276
Handcock, Mr., of the State Paper Office, acknowledgment of assistance from, xvii
Harding, Captain John, journal of, 274
Hart, E.I.C. ship in the fleet under Captain Shilling, 268, 269, 270, 272
Hawkins, captain of the "Hector" in the third E.I.C. voyage, viii, ix, 111, 213, 263; journal abridged in Purchas, viii; he lands in Madagascar, 112; his name carved on a stone at Sierra Leone, 114; said to be in great favour at Agra, 129, 132, 139; letters from for Sir Henry Middleton, 186; letter from, 195; embarks on board the "Trade's Increase", 195; at Bantam, 218
Hearn, John, journal of the third voyage, viii
Heath, Captain W., his journal, 274
Hector. E.I.C. ship, on the first voyage, iv, 56; Sir H. Middleton's ship on the second voyage, 58, 99, 103; on the third voyage, viii, ix, 108, 109,

111 ; in Captain Saris's fleet, xiii, 200 ; homeward bound, 216, 217, 221 ; at Saldanha Bay, 222, 266
Hermon, Captain, in the tenth voyage, 243 ; tortures some Banians, 240
Herrod, Thomas, master's mate of the "Peppercorn", transferred to the "Trade's Increase", 164, 200, 215
Heyward, John, captain of the "Susan" in the first voyage, 58
Hinde, E.I.C. ship, 273
Hinton, Mr. customer of Waterford, offers to lend money to Captain Downton, 225
Hippon, Captain Anthony, on seventh voyage, xii ; news of his death, 253
Hodgkines, James, his journal in the "Concord", 273
Holland, ships of at Pernambuco, 40, 41 ; dealing with, 44 ; merchants at Achin, 74 ; dealing of, with Captain Keelinge, 110 ; fleet at Saldanha Bay, 154 ; ships at Bantam, 216 ; no success for English where Dutch have a footing, 219
Homfray, Mr., his account of the "strange tree" at the Nicobars, 73
Hope, E.I.C. ship, 265, 266, 268
Hopewell, E.I.C. ship, 272, 273 ; Captain Knight's Arctic ship, xx, 281 (*n*)
Hoseander, E.I.C. ship, in the tenth voyage, xiii, 228 ; Captain Best's speech and prayers on board, 235 ; action with Portuguese fleet, 236, 237 ; boatswain killed, 237 ; second action with Portuguese, 243 ; Captain Best's second speech on board, 247 ; insubordinate conduct of men, 249 ; goes to an island near Achin for wood, 251 ; goes to Tiku, 260 ; sent to Priaman, 260 ; to Bantam, 261 ; in a storm on voyage to Bantam, 261 ; extracts from journal of voyage, 265
Hounsel, Thomas, in the tenth voyage, in charge of a prize, 251
Hudson, John and Robert, journal in the ship "Belfast", 276
Hull, Arctic expedition from, xix

Ice, first met by Captain Knight, 286, 287 ; trouble with drift ice, 288 ; moored to an iceberg, 289 ; misery in the, 290 ; footprints found on an icefloe, 290

Jadow, Captain Hawkins's broker at Surat, 189, 190, 195
James, E.I.C. ship, xiv ; at Bantam, 216 ; in the tenth voyage, 228 ; journal of Alex. Childe on board, 256, 271
James Royal, in the seventh Joint Stock voyage, 267, 271
Japan, v, xi, xii, 7, 266
Jask, 265, 268
Java, 99
Jeddah, pilgrims to, 203
Jeffer Bashaw, of Yemen, 173 ; negotiations with, 182
Jennison, Archibald, xv, 206 ; journal of, 268
Jewell, E.I.C. ship, 273
Johore, war with Achin, 251, 255
Jonas, E.I.C. ship, 270, 271
Jones, T., journal of voyage in the "Ascension", x
Jonson, John, master of the "Rose", 270, 271
Joseph, Mr. Benjamin, from Bristol, brings money and provisions to Waterford for Captain Downton, 226
Josiah, E.I.C. ship, 276
Jourdain, Mr. J., sent by Captain Sharpeigh to Sana, 122, 127 ; expected at Surat from Agra, 186 ; reaches Sir H. Middleton's ship, 189 ; sent to Tiku, 210, 214
Julia, E.I.C. ship, 277
Junsaloam. 14 (or Junk Seylon)

Katiwar, 240
Keelinge, Captain W., Shakespeare's plays acted in ship of, ix ; journals of, viii, 265 ; captain of the "Susan" in the second voyage, v ; commanded the third voyage, 108, 113, 263 ; notice of, 108 (*n*) ; visited Banda, 109 ; dealings with Hollanders, 109 ; set up a stone at Sierra Leone with names and date, 114 ; landed at Socotra, 116, 117 ; left a letter at Socotra, 118, 125 ; his sailing directions for the Sumatran coast, 260
Kendal, Abraham, commander of the "Merchant Royal" in the first voyage, 4 ; leaves a man on St. Helena, 17
Kerle, John, captain of the "Macclesfield", 276
Kerslake, Mr., bookseller at Bristol, journal of Captain Saris sold by to the War Office, xiii
Keshin in Arabia, 165 (*n*)
Kilvert, Captain Roger, of the "Concord" (1659), 273
King William, E.I.C. ship, 277
Knight, Captain, in Danish expedition

to Greenland, xviii ; journal of voyage to seek the north-west passage, xx, 281 ; loss of, xxi, 293
Knight Islands, xix

Labrador, 291 (*n*)
Laguna in the West Indies, 31
Lahore, Mr. Finch at, 186
Lannaret, E.I.C. ship, 273
La Noe, captain of a French ship, 23
Lancaster, Sir James, account of, i ; director E.I.C., iii, iv ; his manuscripts lost, vii ; his first voyage, 1 ; kills an antelope, 4 ; captain of the "Edward", 4 ; lands on the coast of Malacca, 11 ; takes a Portuguese prize, 11 ; lands on Mona Island, 21 ; went on board a French ship and came home in her, 23 ; lands at Rye, 24 ; in command of the Pernambuco voyage, 26 ; speech of, 37 ; capture of the port of Pernambuco, 42, 43 ; in command of the first E.I.C. voyage, ii, 58 ; his letter to Mr. Skynner, 58 (*n*) ; interview with the King of Achin, 75 ; negotiations at Achin, 81, 253 ; his letter to the directors in case of shipwreck, 104 ; return home, 107
Lancaster, Dr., Bishop of Waterford, his kindness to Captain Downton, 225
Lancaster Sound, name given by Baffin, i
Law, Mr. Abraham, his death on board the "Peppercorn", 223
Ledger, Captain E., of the "Sampson", 274
Legar, John, of Bury, found on the island of St. Helena, 17
Lesly, Captain John, journal of, in the "Neptune", 276
Lesser, James, E.I.C. ship, 270
Lindenow, captain in the Danish service, voyages to Greenland, xviii, xix
Lion, E.I.C. ship, 270
Littleton, Sir E., president in Bengal, 276
Lloyd, Captain John, journal in "Nassau", 275
London, E.I.C. ship commanded by Captain Shilling, 268, 272 ; James Birkedell's journal in, 273, 276
Longitude, Baffin's calculations for, xix
Love, Thomas, master's mate in the sixth voyage, his journal, xii, 147 (*n*), 263 ; transferred to the "Trade's Increase", 153
Luckland, John, 31
Luffkin, "Honest John", murder of, 123
Luisa, a ship of Dieppe, 22
Lyon, Danish Arctic ship, xvii

Macclesfield, E.I.C. galley, invoice of goods, 276
Mace, William, of Radcliffe, slain, 6, 26 ; his former history, xxii
Madagascar (or St. Lawrence Island), x, 5, 26, 65, 102, 160 ; account of the people, 112 (*see* Antomgil)
Madras, E.I.C. ship, 275
Madefraband, Captain Best's fleet at, 239
Maio, 38, 108, 111, 113, 120
Malacca, 9, 11, 14, 27, 91
Maldiva Isles, 16
"Malice Scourge", former name of the "Dragon", iv
Malucos, 13 (*see* Moluccas)
Mamale Isles, 10
Manangcabo in Sumatra, 98
Manilla, 270
Margabra (*see* Asab)
Marlowe, commander of the ninth E.I.C. voyage, xiii, 209 (*n*), 216, 218
Marriatt, George, journal in the "Charles" 272
Martaban, 12, 16
Marten, Nathaniel, journal of the seventh E.I.C. voyage, xii
Martoll, Abraham, his journal, 274
Mary, E.I.C. ship, 272, 273
Mary Royall, 272
Massingberd, E.I.C. ship, 274
Masulipatam, x, 195, 264
Mathew, Richard, journal with sketches (1644), 273
Matthew, Captain George, voyage in the "London", 276
May, Henry, his account of Lancaster's first voyage, i
Medeiofer, an officer at Surat, 245
Melinda, 8, 26
Mellecamber (*see* Nahuda)
Merchant Royal, ship in the first voyage, 4
Merchant Hope, E.I.C. ship, xv
Merchandise (*see* Trade) great stores at Pernambuco, 83
Merry, John, captain of the "Fleet Frigate", 276
Michelborne, Sir C., recommended to command the first E.I.C. voyage, ii ; his own voyage, v ; misconduct, vi
Middleton, David, voyage, xi ; with his brother Henry, v ; safe arrival home, 209
Middleton, John, vice-admiral in the

first E.I.C. voyage, ii, 58 ; director, iii ; sent to the King of Achin, 74, 99 ; death, 101
Middleton, Sir Henry, knighted, v ; manuscripts lost, vii ; meets the Union, x, 161; in the first E.I.C. voyage, sent to Priaman in the "Snsan", 84; at Bantam, 99 ; commission to for the sixth voyage, 137 to 144, 263 ; sails, v, xi, 145, 147, 151, 153 ; settles a qnestion as to snpply of wine for the factors, 160 ; lands at Socotra, 165 ; at Aden, 168 ; at Mocha, 169; proceedings at Mocha, 173; made prisoner, 174 ; sent to Sana, 176 ; misunderstanding with Captain Downton, 17, 8, 179 ; his escape, 186 ; seizes a ship of Din, 181 ; receives bad news from Surat, 186 ; condnct of the Portngnese to, 187, 188 ; arranges to procced to Gogo, 191 ; return to the Red Sea, 200 ; at Dabul, 197 ; prizes, 203 ; disputes with Captain Saris, 205, 207 ; at Tiku, 208, 209 ; dinner to other captains at Bantam, 218 ; leaves Tiku for Bantam, 209 ; intended to go to Amboyna in the "Peppercorn", 219 ; takes leave of Captain Downton, 221 ; death of, 221 (*n*), 260
Mocha, 122, 123, 127 ; ships at, trade, 123 ; account of, 124 (*see* Middleton, Sir H.) ; blockaded by Middleton, 150 ; Captain Saris at, 205 (*see* Regib Aga)
Mognl army in Katiwar, aid to, 240
Moluccos, 9 ; no hope of trade at, 219
Mollineux, Mr., master's mate, transferred to the "Peppercorn, 164 ; sent to Cork for money, 225 ; sent to London, 226
Mona, Isle of, in the West Indies, 20, 21, 29, 45
Monck, Richard, his journal in the "Great Thames", 271
Monden, John, journal in the "Hector", xv, 164, 266
Moon, E.I.C. ship, 268, 270
Moore, Mr., in the tenth E.I.C. voyage, 249
Mozambique, 5, 8, 26
Muccrab Khan, Viceroy of Surat, 189, 193, 194 ; as to allowing a factory at Snrat, 195, 196 ; vexatious conduct of, 265
Mnckrell, John, journal in the "Coaster", 273
Mulle Amore Bensaide, King of Socotra, 165
Mnller, S., Dutch historian, his elucidation of the career of Oliver Brnnel, xx

Nahnda Mahnmett, Captain of a Calicut ship at Mocha, 181, 182, 185, 201
Nahndas at Mocha, 206, 207
Nain, on the coast of Labrador, xxi, 291 (*n*)
Nassau, E.I.C. ship, 275
Negapatam, 13
Neptune, E.I.C ship, 276
New Years' Gift, E.I.C. ship, xv, 268
Newell, Edward, his journal in the "London", 273
Newfoundland, xxi, 20, 23, 293
Newport, Captain Christopher, xiv
Nicols, William, journey across India, xi
Nicnbar Isles, 10, 15, 27, 71 ; strange tree found on, 72, 73 (*n*)
Nirapotte, 109
North-west passage, voyages to discover, xviii, xx, 281
Noyer, Captain, of Dieppe, at Pernambnco, 45 ; death of, 54
Nueblas Isles, 21
Nuno da Cunho, commander of the Portuguese fleet in action with English fleet of the tenth E.I.C. voyage, 236 ; a vain boast of, 237

Olinda, the port of Pernambnco, 35
Oliver, Mr., merchant of the "Hoseander, his visit to the Mognl camp in Katiwar, 240 ; at Achin, 249 ; at Priaman, 261
Orkney, Captain Knight at, 281
Ormnz, 123, 199

Palsgrave, E.I.C. ship, 261, 270, 272
Paria, Gulf of, 19, 20
Pashley, John, his jonrnal in the "Hart", 272
Passaman, in Sumatra, 109 (*n*), 209, 210
Peacocke, an Englishman drowned in Cochin China, 267
Pegn, 9, 11, 12, 14, 27 ; natives taken home, 17
Peyton, Captain Walter, takes Sir J. Roe to India, xv
Pemba, 116, 121, 126
Pemberton, Mr., seized at Mocha, 148, 174 ; his escape, 146, 149, 175 ; his boy sent on board, 183 ; finds anchorage for the fleet at Surat, 192 ; at Passaman, 210, 214
Penelope, ship in Lancaster's first voyage, 4, 26

Pepper, 12, 84, 98, 100, 109, 209; price of, 260
Peppercorn, E.I.C. ship in the sixth voyage, xii; 145, 147, 152; left at 178; leak in, 153; obtain supplies of wood at Cape Gardafui, 166; at Aden, 168 to 171; proceeds to Mocha, 172; carries away her main yard, 185; blockades Aden, 201; prizes taken by, 202, 203; Sir H. Middleton goes in her to Bantam, 201; careened at Bantam, 216; sent home in command of Captain Downton, 150, 221; at Saldanha Bay, 222; sails from Waterford, 226; at Gravesend, 227; journal of the master of, 263
Perak, 12
Peramiew, Brazilian port, 55
Peregrine, ship commanded by Captain Venner, Pernambuco voyage, 38
Pernambuco expedition, ii, 18, 37; arrival at, 40
Perse, William, journal of in the "Bengal Merchant", 274
Pettyman, Mr., at Bantam, 216
Phillips, Richard, turned Turk, 177
Pico, 223
"Pilgrimes" of Purchas, vii
Pinder, Francis, "An evil member of our voyage in the 'Peppercorn'", 223
Portuguese prizes, 2; note on succession to crown, 7 (*n*); dealings with at Zanzibar, 8; fighting with at Pernambuco, 47, 48, 49; send down fire ships, 50, 51; attack on defences of, 52, 53; wiles of at Achin, 85 to 89; at Sierra Leone, ix, 114; trade of at Socotra, 118; seize Captain Sharpeigh's pinnace, 128; obstructive policy, 130; blockading Surat, 186; conduct to Sir H. Middleton, 187, 188; engagements with, 193, 236, 237, 242, 243, 269; great fleet of passes Surat, 196; strong in the Moluccas, 219
Potaju, Brazilian port, 55
President, E.I.C. ship, 274
Priaman, vi; "Susan", under H. Middleton sent to, 84; Lancaster goes to, 98; Keelinge at, 109; Best's desire to trade at, 252; permission to found a factory at, 253; "Hoseander" at, 260
Prickman, Benjamin, captain of "Madras", 275, 276
Prin, Nicholas, journal to Surat in the "Charles", 272
Pring, Martin, journal of, xv
Pringle, Captain Martin, commander of the seventh joint stock voyage, 267
Prizes, Portugal caravels captured by Lancaster, 2, 13; Spanish, taken, 36; a Biskainer, 38; Portuguese taken by Lancaster, 60, 91, 92; taken by Captain Sharpeigh, 121; ship "St. Nicholas", of Cochin taken by Sir H. Middleton, 197, 198; taken by the "Peppercorn", 202, 203; taken by Captain Best, 247
Pueblas, or Cloudie Isles, 21
Puerto Rico, 21, 29
Pulo Gomez, 10
Pulopansa, 99
Pulopenjaun, 216, 217, 218, 221
Pulo Pinaon, 10, 27
Pulo Rhun, 109 (*n*)
Pulo Sambilan, 12
Punta de Galle, 15, 16
Purchas, Rev. Samuel, journals of the E.I.C. voyages entrusted to, his "Pilgrimes", vii; abstracts of E.I.C. voyages, x, xi, xiii, xiv; list of, xvii (*n*); his treatment of Knight's Arctic journal, xviii; footnotes, 281 to 292; his postscript to Knight's journal, xxi, 293

Quintangone, 5, 26

Raheta (Rohela ?), King of, 204
Raymond, Admiral, in the Penelope", 4
Recife, port of Pernambuco, 40 (*n*), 42
Red Dragon (*see* Dragon)
Reformation, E.I.C. ship, 272
Regib Agaw, of Mocha, 173; at Aden in Captain Sharpeigh's time, 173; his treachery, 174; his treachery ordered by the Pasha of Yemen, 176; begins to sing a new song, 180
Relief, Sir H. Middleton's pinnace, 182
Revett, Mr. W., sent to Mocha by Captain Sharpeigh, 123
Richard II., play of, acted on board Captain Keelinge's ship at Sierra Leone, ix
Richard, a small vessel to make discoveries at the Cape, 270
Richards, Henry, his journal in the "Discovery", 571
Roe, Sir Thomas, xvi
Roebuck, E.I.C. ship in Captain Shilling's fleet, xvi, 268, 269
Rohela (Raheta ?), King of, 179
Roquepez Isle, 69 (*n*)
Rose, E.I.C. vessel, employed making discoveries at the Cape, 270

Rowe, John, his journal in the voyage of the "Expedition" to Jask, 268
Rowles, Richard, captain of the "Union", x
Royal James, E.I.C. ship, 271
Ruby, E.I.C. ship, 268
Rundall, Mr., editor of "Narratives of Voyages towards the North-west", ix; his mention of a passage in Captain Keelinge's journal now lost, ix, x
Russell, E.I.C. frigate, journal, 275

Sailing directions of Captain Davis, vi, 260; Captain Keelinge, 260; from Socotra to Diu, 265; from Batavia to Piscadores, and Siam to Tonquin, 274
St. Lawrence Island (*see* Madagascar)
St. Augustine Cape, 40, 60, 111
St. Augustine Bay, 112, 116, 146, 147
St. Domingo, 20
St. Mary Island, 66
St. Nicolas Cape, 31
St. Nicholas, a ship of Cochin (*see* Prizes)
San Juan de Puerto Rico, 21, 29
Sant Tomé, 9, 13, 27, 93
Santa Helena Isle, 17, 28, 61, 105, 223, 264; man left on, 17, 28
Saldanha (*see* Aguada), 61, 62, 62, 63, 109, 114, 120, 126, 145, 147, 154, 275; description of, 154; people of, 155; "Peppercorn" at, 222
Salomon (*see* Solomon)
Sampson, E.I.C. ship, 274, 275
Samuel, E.I.C. ship, 272
Sana, Mr. Glascock at, 122, 227; pasha of, 173; Sir H. Middleton at, 175; Mr. Fowler at, 177
Sanderbole, Mr., master of the "Hector", 105
Saris, Captain John, xiii, 200; number of guns for his salute, 204; dispute with Sir H. Middleton, 205 to 207; leaves Mocha, 208; his journals, xiii, 264 (*n*)
Sayer, Edmund, his journal, 266; voyage to Cochin China, 267
Sayers, Abraham, his journal in the "Hopewell", 272
Scout, E.I.C. pinnace, 271
Scurvy, 4, 61, 113, 222; cure for, 62
Sea Adventure, Captain Adams's junk, 267
Sebastian, Cape, 65
Sherley, Sir Robert, Persian ambassador, on voyage out, xiv, 222
Siam, 266, 274; ambassador at Achin, 249
Sickness, 2, 4, 61, 62, 69, 208 (*see* Scurvy)
Sierra Leone, 108, 111, 113, 114; Shakespeare's plays acted at, ix; stones set up at, with names of Drake, Cavendish, Keelinge, and Hawkins, 114
Sinan (*see* Sana)
Shaker (Arabia), 173
Shakespeare's plays acted at Sierra Leone on board Captain Keelinge's ship, ix
Sharpe, Nicholas, journal in the "Charles", 272
Sharpeigh, Captain Alexander, letters from Aden, xi; in command of fourth E.I.C. voyage, x, 120, 263; detained at Aden, 122, 127; shipwrecked, 128; journey to Agra, 129; embarks on board "Trade's Increase", 150; expected at Surat from Agra, 186; prevented from embarking by the Portuguese, 188; succeeds in getting on board the "Trade's Increase", 191; goes to Surat to meet Captain Hawkins, 195; ill behaviour of his crew, 213
Shermall, Shabender of the Banians at Mocha, ship seized by Sir H. Middleton, 181; his visit to Sir H. Middleton, 183
Shilling, Captain, fleet commanded by, xvi, 268, 269; death of, 269
Sidney, E.I.C. ship, 275
Skynner, Mr., Lancaster's letter to, 58 (*n.*)
Slade, William, purser of the "Discovery", his journal, 271
Smith, Sir Thomas, first governor of the East India Company, iii; entrusts the ships' journals to Purchas, his death, vii
Socotra, 9; ships of the third voyage arrive at, 126, 127; people of, 117; trade of, 118; ships of the sixth voyage at, 164; belongs to the chief of Keshin in Arabia, 165 (*n.*); return of Sir H. Middleton to, 185; remarks on current in voyage to, from India, 199; the "Darling" sent to, 200; sailing direction from Diu to, 265
Solomon, E.I.C. ship, in the Pernambuco voyage, 35, 37, 38; death of captain, 54; homeward bound, 216, 221; in the tenth E.I.C. voyage, xiv, 228; in Joint-Stock voyage, xv
Sombrero, 72, 74
Sophia, Cape, in Greenland, xix

Soto, Francisco de, blockading Surat, 186, 191
South, Captain J., of the "Chambers", 275
Southey, Mr., his account of Lancaster's Pernambuco voyage in his *History of Brazil*, 36 (*n.*)
Sowso, Antonio de, a Portuguese killed in action, 193
Speed, William, a merchant in the "Darling", his death at Tiku, 208
Spere, William, his journal, 273
Spie, E.I.C. pinnace, 271
Stamboul, 177
Starkey, Master William, factor of Bantam, 101
Starkey, Anthony, to take letters home overland, 246
Starre, E.I.C. ship, 271
Staughton, J., his death on board the "Darling", 215
Stead, John, his journal in the "Triplikaine", 274
Stevens, Thomas, captain of the "Eagle", 273
Stiles, Roger, captain of the "Ascension" in the second voyage, v
Stratford, Anthony, commander of the fort of Duncannon, his treatment of Captain Downton, 226
Suez, 179, 180
Sumatra, 10, 27, 71, 74, 259 (*see* Achin, Priaman, Tiku)
Sunda Strait, 99
Surat, 123, 128; arrival of Captain Sharpeigh and shipwrecked crew, 128; Mr. Finch at, 128; Sir H. Middleton arrives off, 150; blockade by the Portuguese, 186; proceedings at, 188 to 193; trade at, refused, 196; fleet of the tenth voyage off the bar, 233; arrival of the firman for E.I.C. trade at, 245 (*see* Muccrab Khan)
Susan, in the first E.I.C. voyage, iv, v, 58; sent to Priaman in command of Mr. Pemberton, 84, 98
Swally roads, 190, 191, 196, 199, 238, 239, 244, 247
Swan, Captain Richard, of the "Roebuck", journal, xvi, 269
Swanley, Richard, captain of the "Exchange", his journal, 269; his journal on board the "Jonas", 270

Table Bay, 275
Table Mountain, 158
Tamarida in Socotra, 117, 146, 164
Tanaseri (Tennasserim), 15
Taylor, John, a deserter from the "Peppercorn", 149, 176
Tecoa (*see* Tiku)
Temple, Richard, to go to Agra, 246; deserts Mr. Canning, 252
Teneriff, 36, 37, 120
Terry, Mr. Thornton's servant, 198
Thomas, E.I.C. ship, in the fleet of Captain Saris, xiii, 200; sent to the Abesian coast, 205; at Tiku, 209; homeward bound, 216, 218, 221, 222; journal on board, 276
Thornton, Mr. Giles, master of the "Trade's Increase", 172; his report of events at Mocha to Captain Downton, 173 to 175; unable to find an anchorage near Surat, 191; confidence of Captain Downton in, 180, 203, 204; his servant Terry, 198; his opinion as to the sea-worthiness of the "Trade's Increase", 220
Tiburon, Cape, 20, 30
Tiku (Tecoa), in Sumatra, vi, 109 (*n.*); Sir H. Middleton at, "Darling" sent to, 206, 208; "Thomas" at, 209; Mr. Jourdain sent to, with presents, 210; permission to Captain Best to found a factory, 253; the "Hoseander" at, 26
Tilbury Hope, 108
Tonquin, sailing directions to, 274
Topographical Depôt (*see* War Office)
Tor Bay, 59
Toucy, Zachariah, his journal on a voyage to Madras, 275
Towerson, Captain, in voyage of Saris, 205; sails from Mocha, 207, 222
Trade, wares suitable for, in India, 14; at Bantam, 100; at Socotra, 118, 166; at Mocha, 123, 124; in the Red Sea, 129; most desirable commodities for sending home from India, 140; cargo of a ship from Cochin, 198; from Calicut, 201; trade of Siam, 249; Gomberoon recommended as a place for, 268 (*see* Pepper; *see* Femell's Instructions)
Trade's Increase, largest merchant ship ever built, xii; on the sixth voyage, 145, 147, 150; leaves Aden for Mocha, 169; gets on shore on a rock, 211; condition of, 209, 212; at Bantam, 216
Traine, Mr. Hugh, at Surat, 195; his illness and death at Bantam, 217, 218
Trinidada Island, 18, 29
Triplicaine, E.I.C. ship, 274
Trumbull, E.I C. ship, 277
Turks at Mocha, their treachery, 174,

175; Sir H. Middleton's demand for compensation from, 181, 183, 206, 207; intended reprisals on, 184, 201, 202; Richard Phillips turns Turk, 177

Union, E.I.C. ship, under Captain Rowles, in the fourth voyage, x, 120, 126; journal on board, xi; in the Bay of St. Augustine, meets Sir H. Middleton's fleet, 146, 160, 161
Uphlett, Nicholas, left at Surat as security, 195

Venner, captain of the "Peregrine", 38; serves under Lancaster in the action at Pernambuco, 43, 49, 53, 55, 56
Verde, Cape, 1, 37, 145, 147, 152
Vian, John, journal in the "Discovery", 271, 272
Virgin, a ship in the Pernambuco voyage, 35, 37
Walter, trumpeter of the "Peppercorn", sent on shore at Aden, 168
War Office (Topographical Depôt), in possession of the journal of Captain Saris, xiii
Warden, Andrew, journal in the "William", 271, 272
Warneford, Mr., Chaplain at Port Blair, his account of the "strange tree" at the Nicobars, 73
Waterford, Captain Downton at, 224; discourtesy of the Mayor, 224; kindness of the Bishop, 225
Watkins, Thomas, one of the "Ascension's" crew, joins the "Trade's Increase", 190
Wats, Alderman John, a setter forth of the Pernambuco voyage, 35
Wats, M., in command of the galley, in the Pernambuco voyage, 39
Waymouth, Captain, sent by the E.I.C. to discover the N.W. passage, xviii
Weddell, Captain John, of the "Royal James", 271; account of his China voyage, 273
Wehnan, Thomas, journal in the "Discovery", 271
Welcome, a ship of Plymouth, 38
West, John, one of the mutinous crew in Lancaster's first voyage, 31
Whale, E.I.C. ship, 270
Wickham, Richard, factor at Firando, MS. letters of, in the India Office, xiii
Wicksteed, Mr. Allen, minister on board the "Peppercorn", death of, 222
William, E.I.C. ship, 271
Williams, John, of the "Peppercorn", sent on shore at Aden, 168; at Surat, 195; sent to Surat to get permission to found a factory, but refused, 196
Wilson, Captain John, journal of, 275
Wilson, Ralph, his journal in the "Solomon", xiv
Wood, John, his journal, 270
Wood, master of the "Lesser James", 270
Wyne, John, his journal in the "Discovery", 271

Yemen, extent of, 173; Pasha of (*see* Jaffier Bashaw)

Zanzibar, 6, 8, 26; people and captain of the "Union" betrayed at, 146
Zeilan, 9, 15, 27
Zinde river, 203
Zocotora (*see* Socotra)

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